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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

IV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY EARNEST CARY, Ph.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, Ph.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES



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VOL. IV.

BOOK XLI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πρώτφ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαἰκῶν

- 'Ωs Καΐσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε καὶ Πομπήιος ἐκλιπὼν αὐτὴν ές Μακεδονίαν διέπλευσεν.
- 'Ως Καΐσαρ 'Ιβηρίαν παρεστήσατο.
- 'Ως Καΐσαρ ès Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον διέπλευσεν
- 'Ως Καΐσαρ και Πομπήιος περί Δυρράχιον ἐπολέμησαν.
- ε. 'Ως Καΐσαρ Πομπήιον περί Φάρσαλον ενίκησεν.

Χρόνου πληθος έτη δύο, εν οίς άρχοντες οι αριθμούμενοι οίδε έγένουτο

- Γ. Κλαύδιος Μ 1 υί. Μάρκελλος
- Γ. Ἰούλιος ² Γ. υί. Καῖσαρ τὸ β΄ ὅπ.
- Π. Σερουίλιος Π. υί. Ίσαυρικός

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γράμματα παρά τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λαβών ήλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ νουμηνία ἐν ἡ δ τε Λέντουλος ο Κορνήλιος και ο Κλαύδιος ο Γάιος την άρχην ενεστήσαντο, και ου πρότερον τοις ύπάτοις αὐτὰ ἀπέδωκε πρὶν ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν σφας άφικέσθαι, μη καὶ έξω που λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀπο-2 κρύψωνται. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἐθέλοντές σφας ἀναλέξασθαι· τέλος δὲ ὑπό

² Ἰούλιος R. Steph., όυλιος L.

¹ Κλαύδιος M. Bs., following R. Steph., καμ' L.

BOOK XLI

The following is contained in the Forty-first of Dio's Rome:—

How Caesar came into Italy, and how Pompey, leaving it, sailed across to Macedonia (chaps 1-14).

How Caesar subjugated Spain (chaps 18-25)

How Caesar sailed across to Macedonia to encounter Pompey (chaps. 39, 44-46).

How Caesar and Pompey fought around Dyrrachium (chaps. 47-51).

How Caesar conquered Pompey at Pharsalus (chaps. 52-63).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

9 L. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus, C. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.
C. Iulius C. F. Caesar (II), P. Servilius P. F. Isauricus.

After taking this course at that time, Curio later B.C 40 came to Rome on the very first day of the month on which Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius entered upon office, bringing a letter from Caesar to the senate; and he did not give it to the consuls until they reached the senate-house, for fear that if they received it outside they might suppress it. Even as it was, they waited a long time, in their unwillingness to read it, but at last they were compelled

τε Κυίντου Κασσίου Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου 'Αντωνίου δημαρχούντων ήναγκάσθησαν αὐτά δη-3 μοσιεθσαι. Αντώνιος μεν οθν εν τούτφ τότε τον Καίσαρα εὐεργετήσας ἀντιλήψεσθαί τε πολλά καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰωρηθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. έν δὲ τῆ ἐπιστολῆ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτὲ καλῶς τὸ κοινὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποιήκει ἐνεγέγραπτο, καὶ 4 ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἢτιάζετο. καταλύσειν τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκστήσεσθαι ύπισχνείτο, αν και ο Πομπήιος τα αυτά οί ποιήση εκείνου γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντος οὐδὲ έαυτον δίκαιον είναι άναγκασθηναι αὐτὰ ἀφεῖναι έλεγεν, ίνα μη καὶ τοῖς έχθροῖς ἐκδοθη. 2 διαψηφίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα, μη καὶ δι' αἰδῶ ἡ καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά σφισιν ἀποφήνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῆ ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ ἐπ' έκεινα του βουλευτηρίου μεταστάσει γενομένης, τον μεν Πομπήιον ούδεις απαλλαγήναι έκ των οπλων εψηφίσατο (εν γάρ τῷ προαστείω τὰς δυνάμεις είχε), τον δε δη Καίσαρα πάντες πλην Μάρκου τέ τινος Καιλίου 1 και τοῦ Κουρίωνος τοῦ 2 τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ κομίσαντος. περί γὰρ τῶν δημάρχων οὐδὲν λέγω, ὅτι μηδὲ ² ἐν ἀνάγκη τινὶ μεταστήναι εποιήσαντο, άτε καὶ εξουσίαν έχοντες έἴτε ἐβούλοντό τινα γνώμην συμβαλέσθαι είτε καὶ μή. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν καὶ κυρωθῆναί τι αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐν ἐκείνη τἢ ἡμέρα οὔτε ἐν τἢ ύστεραία ο τε 'Αντώνιος και ο Λογγίνος ἐπέ-3 τρεψαν. άγανακτησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτω τῶν άλλων καὶ ψηφισαμένων την έσθητα άλλάξα-

¹ Καιλίου Fr. Fabricius (cf. Oros. 6, 15, 2), καικιλίου L (and so just below). 2 μηδὲ Bk., μήτε L.

by Quintus Cassius Longinus and Mark Antony, who B.C. 49 were tribunes, to make it public. Now Antony for the service he then rendered Caesar in this matter was destined to be well repaid and to be raised himself to great honours. As to the letter, it contained a list of all the benefits which Caesar had ever conferred upon the state and a defence of the charges which were brought against him. He promised to disband his legions and give up his office if Pompey would also do the same; for while the latter bore arms it was not right, he claimed, that he should be compelled to give up his and so be exposed to his enemies. The vote on this proposition was not taken individually, lest the senators through some sense of shame or fear should vote contrary to their true opinions; but it was done by their taking their stand on this or on that side of the senate-chamber. No one voted that Pompey should give up his arms, since he had his troops in the suburbs; but all, except one Marcus Caelius and Curio, who had brought his letter, voted that Caesar must do so. Of the tribunes I make no mention, since they did not consider it at all necessary to take part in the division; for they had the privilege of offering an opinion or not, as they saw fit. This, then, was the decision reached; but Antony and Longinus did not allow any part of it to be ratified either on that day or the next. The rest, indignant at this, voted to change their apparel, but

σθαι, κῦρος μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ή μέντοι γνώμη συνεγράφη και τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πάντες γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντες έκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβαλόντες έσηλθον αθθις καὶ περὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῶν έβου-2 λεύοντο, ιδόντες δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέπραττον, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Λέντουλος ὑπεξελθεῖν σφισι πρὶν τὰς ψήφους διενεχθηναι παρήνεσεν, εἶπόν τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐμαρτύραντο, κἀκ τούτου μετὰ τοῦ Κουρίωνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καιλίου ἀπῆραν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, βραχύ φροντίσαντες ότι έκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ δι-3 εγράφησαν. τότε μεν οθν τοθτ' έγνώσθη, καὶ τοίς ύπάτοις ταις τε άλλαις άρχαις ή φυλακή τής πόλεως, ὥσπερ που εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι, ἐπετράπη· ὕστερον δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ελθόντες ταραχήν τε είναι έγνωσαν, 4 καὶ ἐκείνω μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔδωκαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδοθναι καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα έντὸς ρητης ήμέρας ἀφείναι, ἢ πολέμιον ὡς καὶ τἀναντία τη πατρίδι ποιούντα είναι έψηφίσαντο.

4 Πυθόμενος οὖν ταὖτα ἐκείνος ἔς τε ᾿Αρίμινον ἢλθεν, ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τότε πρῶτον προχωρήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τόν τε Κουρίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσι τὰ πραχθέντα διηγήσασθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου προσπαρώξυνεν 2 αὐτούς, ἐπειπὼν ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήτει. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄρας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄντικρυς τὴν ὙΡώμην ἤλασε, πάσας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ πόλεις ἀμαχεὶ προστιθέμενος, τῶν φρουρῶν τῶν μὲν ἐκλειπόντων αὐτὰς ἀσθε-

this measure, also, through the opposition of the same B.C. 49 men, failed to be ratified. The senate's decision, however, was recorded and put into effect; for all straightway left the senate-house, and changed their dress, then came in again and proceeded to deliberate about punishing the tribunes. The latter, observing this, at first resisted, but later became afraid, especially when Lentulus advised them to get out of the way before the vote should be taken. They offered many remarks and protestations and then set out with Curio and with Caelius to go to Caesar, little concerned at being expelled from the senate. This, then, was the decision reached at that time; and the care of the city was committed to the consuls and to the other magistrates, as was the custom. Afterward the senators went outside the pomerium to Pompey himself, declared that there was a state of disorder. and delivered to him both the funds and the troops. And they voted that Caesar should surrender his office to his successors and dismiss his legions by a given day, or else be considered an enemy, because acting contrary to the interests of the country.

When Caesar was informed of this, he came to Ariminum, then for the first time overstepping the confines of his own province, and after assembling his soldiers he ordered Curio and the others who had come with him to relate to them what had been done. After this was over he further aroused them by adding such words as the occasion demanded. Next he set out and marched straight upon Rome itself, winning over all the cities on the way without any conflict, since the garrisons either abandoned

νεία, των δε τὰ ἐκείνου ἀνθαιρουμένων. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἄμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν παρὰ τοῦ Λαβιήνου μαθών, 3 έδεισεν. ούτος γαρ έγκαταλιπών τον Καίσαρα έξηυτομόλησε καὶ πάντα οἱ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ έξήγγειλε. θαυμάσειε μέν οὖν ἄν τις ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρώτα ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀεί ποτε τιμηθείς, ὥστε καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις στρατοπέδων, όπότε ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία εἴη, ἄρχειν, ἐποίησε 4 τοῦτο. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν περιβαλόμενος 2 όγκηρότερον της ήγεμονίας διάγειν ήρξατο, και δ Καίσαρ παρισούμενον οί αὐτὸν ἰδῶν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἡγάπα. τήν τε οὖν μεταβολήν μή φέρων, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἄμα μή πάθη τι, μετέστη. 'Ο οὖν Πομπήιος ἔκ τε τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος

αὐτῷ λεχθέντων, καὶ ὅτι ἰσχὴν ἀξιόμαχον οὕπω⁸ παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πόλει, τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς στασιώτας, τόν τε πόλεμον ὀκνοῦντας μνήμῃ τῶν τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου ἔργων καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἀσφαλῶς 2 αὐτοῦ βουλομένους εἶδε, μετεβάλετο, ⁴ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Λούκιόν τε Καίσαρα συγγενῆ αὐτῷ ὄντα καὶ Λούκιον 'Ρώσκιον στρατηγοῦντα αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἀπέστειλεν, εἴ πως τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκφυγὼν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ συμβαίη. 3 ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τά τε ἄλλα ἄπερ ἐπεστάλκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς τῶ Πομπηίω διαλεχθῆναι

¹ τοῦτο Wagner, τοῦτον L.

² περιβαλόμενος H. Steph., περιβαλλόμενος L.

ούπω Reim., αὐτῶ L.

⁴ μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L.

them, because they were powerless to resist, or pre- B.C 49 ferred his cause. Pompey, perceiving this, became afraid, especially when he learned all his rival's intentions from Labienus; for this officer had abandoned Caesar and deserted to the other side, and he announced all Caesar's secrets to Pompey. might feel surprise, now, that after having always been most highly honoured by Caesar to the extent even of commanding all the legions beyond the Alps whenever the proconsul was in Italy, he should have done this. The reason was that when he had acquired wealth and fame he began to conduct himself more haughtily than his rank warranted, and Caesar, seeing that he put himself on the same level with his superior, ceased to be so fond of him. And so, as Labienus, could not endure this change and was at the same time afraid of coming to some harm, he transferred his allegiance.

Pompey, because of what was told him about Caesar and because he had not yet prepared a force sufficient to cope with him, changed his plans; for he saw that the people in the city, in fact the very members of his party, even more than the rest, shrank from the war through remembrance of the deeds of Marius and Sulla and wished to be delivered from it. Therefore he sent to Caesar, as envoys, Lucius Caesar, a relative of his, and Lucius Roscius, a praetor, both of whom volunteered for the service, to see if he could avoid his attack in some way and then reach an agreement with him on reasonable terms. The other replied to the same effect as in the letter which he had sent, and said that he, too, wished to have a conference with Pompey; but the multitude

έθέλοι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ἡδέως οἱ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν, 4 δείσαντες μη καὶ κατά σφῶν τι σύνθωνται ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Καίσαρα έλεγον, καὶ τέλος οὔτε τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πείσεσθαί τινα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτίκα ἀφεθήσεσθαι προσυπισχνοῦντο, ήσθησαν, καὶ πρός τε έκεινον τούς αὐτούς αὖθις πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, καὶ ήξίουν ἐπιβοῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέ-

ρους άμα αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι.

Φο Βηθείς οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ηπίστατο ὅτι πολύ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄν γε ἐπὶ τῷ δήμω γένωνται, έλαττωθήσεται) αὐτός τε ἐς Καμ-2 πανίαν πρίν τούς πρέσβεις έπανελθείν, ώς καί ράου ἐκεὶ πολεμήσων, προαπήρε, καὶ τὴν βουλην άπασαν μετά των τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀκολουθησαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, ἄδειάν τέ σφισι δόγματι της έκδημίας δούς, καὶ προειπών ὅτι τὸν ὑπομείναντα έν τε τῷ ἴσφ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίφ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία 3 σφίσι πράττουσιν έξοι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ γρήματα τὰ δημόσια τά τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῆ πόλει πάντα άναιρεθηναι προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι, έλπίζων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιώτας άθροίσειν. τοσαύτην γάρ εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ πασαι ως είπειν αί έν τη Ἰταλία πόλεις είχον ώστε, επειδή ήκουσαν αὐτὸν ολίγον εμπροσθεν έπικινδύνως νοσοθντα, σωτήρια αὐτοθ δημοσία 4 θύσειν εὔξασθαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' αν είς ἀντιλέξειεν οὐ γαρ ἔστιν ὅτω 1 ποτὲ ἄλλω, ἔξω των μετα ταῦτα τὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐψηφίσθη

¹ δτφ R. Steph., δτι L.

was not pleased to hear this, fearing that some B.C. 40 measures might be concerted against them. When, however, the envoys said many things in praise of Caesar, and ended up by promising that no one should suffer any harm at his hands and that the legions should immediately be disbanded, they were pleased and sent the same envoys to him again, and they kept shouting out everywhere and always their demand that both leaders should lay down their arms at the same time.

Pompey was frightened at this, knowing well that he would be far inferior to Caesar if they should both put themselves in the power of the people, and accordingly set out for Campania before the envoys returned, with the idea that he could more easily carry on war there. He also commanded the whole senate together with the magistrates to accompany him, granting them permission for their absence by a decree, and announcing to them that he would regard anyone who remained behind in exactly the same light as those who were working against him. Furthermore he ordered them to decree that the public moneys and the votive offerings in the city should all be seized, hoping that by using them he could get together a vast number of soldiers. practically all the cities of Italy felt such friendliness for him that when, a short time before, they had heard he was dangerously ill, they had vowed to offer public sacrifices for his safety. That this was a great and brilliant honour which they bestowed upon him no one would deny, since there has been no one else in whose behalf such a vote was ever passed, except those who in after times received

οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ πίστιν τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον παρ-5 εῖχον. ἐγνώσθη μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περί τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δὲ οὐδέτερα πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τόν τε Καίσαρα μήτε τι εἰρηναῖον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ προσεγκαλεῖν σφισιν ὡς καὶ καταψευσαμένοις 6 τινὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλούς τε καὶ θρασεῖς εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ότιοῦν, οῖά που φιλεῖ ³ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτερον ἀγγέλλεσθαι, κακουργήσειν, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ σπουδῷ τὴν ἔξοδον, πρὶν ἄψασθαί τινος αὐτῶν, ἐποιήσαντο.

Κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως πάντα θορυβώδης σφών καὶ ταραχώδης ή ἀνάστασις έγένετο. οί τε γαρ έξιόντες (ἣσαν δὲ πάντες ώς είπειν οί πρώτοι και της βουλης και της ίππάδος 2 καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ 4 δμίλου) λόγω μὲν ἐπὶ πολέμφ ἀφωρμῶντο, ἔργφ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἑαλωκότων έπασχου τήν τε γαρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῆ διατριβάς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκειότερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινῶς 3 έλυποῦντο. οἵ τε γὰρ πανοικησία ἀνιστάμενοι τὰ ίερα και τους οίκους τό τε έδαφος το πατρώον ώς καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν εὐθὺς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλειπον,5 καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω τὴν γνώμην, ἄν γε καὶ περισωθῶσιν, είχον ως κάν 6 τη Μακεδονία τη τε Θράκη κατοικήσοντες την γαρ του Πομπηίου διάνοιαν 4 οὐκ ἠγνόουν. καὶ οἱ κατὰ χώραν τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τά τε άλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα

παρεῖχον Kubler, εῖχον L.
 φιλεῖ R. Steph., φιλεῖν L.
 ἀπέλειπον H. Steph., ἀπέλιπον L.
 ἀπέλειπον Κ. Steph., ἀπέλιπον L.

absolute power; still they inspired him with no sure e.c.40 confidence that they would not abandon him through fear of one stronger. The recommendation about the moneys and the votive offerings was granted, but neither of them was touched; for, having ascertained meanwhile that Caesar's answer to the envoys had not been at all conciliatory and that he had furthermore reproached them with having made some false statements about him, also that his soldiers were many and bold and liable to do any kind of mischief,—just the sort of reports, exaggerating the danger, as are usually made about such matters,—the senators became frightened and hastily took their departure before they could lay hands on any of the treasures.

Accordingly their removal was equally tumultuous and confused in all other respects. For the departing citizens, practically all of whom were the foremost men of the senate and of the knights, to say nothing of the populace, while nominally setting out for war, were in reality undergoing the experiences of captives. For they were compelled to abandon their country and their pursuits there, and to consider foreign walls more friendly than their own, and consequently they were terribly distressed. Such as were removing with their entire households said farewell to the temples and to their homes and to the soil of their ancestors, with the feeling that these would straightway become the property of their opponents; and as for themselves, not being ignorant of Pompey's purpose, they had the intention, if they really survived, of establishing themselves in Macedonia and Thrace. Those who were leaving behind on the spot their children and wives and

καταλείποντες 1 ἔχειν μέν τινα ἐλπίδα τῆς πατρίδος ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἄτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπαρτώμενοι, διττῆ τε τύχη καὶ ἐναντιωτάτη παραβαλλόμενοι, 5 χαλεπωτέρως ἀπήλλασσον· τὰ γὰρ οἰκειότατα τῷ πολεμιωτάτω σφῶν ἐκδόντες ἔμελλον ἐθελοκακοῦντες μὲν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν, προθυμούμενοι δὲ ἐκείνων στερηθήσεσθαι, καὶ προσέτι φίλον μὲν μηδέτερον ἐχθροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἔξειν, Καίσαρα μὲν ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέμειναν, Πομπήιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἀκείνα συνεπηγάγοντο. 6 ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἀμφίβολον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ταῖς εὐγαῖς ταῖς τε ἐλπίσι καθιστάμενοι τοῖς τε

σώμασιν ἄμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σφίσιν

ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς δίχα διηροῦντο.
8 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐξορμώμενοι ἔπασχον, οἱ δἰ ὑπολειπόμενοι διαφόροις μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δέ τισι

ύπολειπόμενοι διαφόροις μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δέ τισι καὶ αὐτοὶ παθήμασι συνεφέροντο. οἴ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἀποζευγνύμενοι, οἶα τῶν τε προστατῶν στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐπαμῦναι 2 αὐτοῖς ² ἤκιστα δυνάμενοι, τῷ τε πολέμω ἐκδιδόμενοι καὶ ἐν τἢ ἐξουσία τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κρατήσοντος ἐσόμενοι, αὐτοί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῶν ὕβρεων καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν ὡς καὶ γιγνομένων ἤδη ἐταλαιπώρουν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων οἴ τε ὀργήν σφισιν ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθησαν ἔχοντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπηρῶντο καὶ οἱ συγγνώμην τῆς ἀνάγκης 3 ποιούμενοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐδέδισαν. 3 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σύμπαν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηδεμία αὐτοῖς συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἀφορμωμένους ἦν,

¹ καταλείποντες Bk., καταλιπόντες L.

² αύτοις Xyl., αὐτοις L. ³ ἐδέδισαν Bs., ἐδεδείεσαν L.

all their other dearest treasures gave the impres- B.C. 40 sion, indeed, of having some little hope of their country, but in reality were in a much worse plight than the others, since they were being separated from all that was dearest to them and were exposing themselves to a double and most contradictory fate. For in delivering their nearest interests to the power of their bitterest foes they were destined, in case they played the coward, to be in danger themselves, and in case they showed zeal, to be deprived of those left behind; moreover, they would find a friend in neither rival, but an enemy in both-in Caesar because they themselves had not remained behind. and in Pompey because they had not taken everything with them. Hence they were divided in their minds, in their prayers, and in their hopes; in body they were being sundered from those nearest to them, and their souls were cleft in twain.

These were the feelings of the departing throng. The ones left behind were experiencing different, but equally painful emotions. Those who were being sundered from their relatives, being thus deprived of their guardians and quite unable to defend themselves, exposed to the war and about to be in the power of him who should make himself master of the city, not only were distressed themselves by the fear of outrages and of murders, as if these were already taking place, but they also either invoked the same fate against those departing, through anger at being deserted, or, condoning their action because of their necessity, feared that the same fate would befall them. All the rest of the populace, even if they did not have the least kinship with those departing,

όμως έλυπούντο μέν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, οί μέν γείτονας οι δε εταίρους πολύ τε από σφων άφήξειν καὶ πολλά καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ δράσειν καὶ πείσεσθαι έλπίζοντες, πολλφ δε δή μάλιστα 4 έαυτους ώλοφύροντο τάς τε γαρ αρχας και την βουλήν τούς τε άλλους τούς τι δυναμένους πάντας (οὐ γάρ που εἴ γέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται ήδεσαν) της τε πατρίδος άμα καὶ σφών έξισταμένους δρώντες, καὶ μήτ' ἂν ἐκείνους, εἰ μὴ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ αὐτῆ ἐπήρτητο, φυγεῖν 5 ποτε έθελησαι λογιζόμενοι, και αὐτοι ἔρημοι μὲν άρχόντων έρημοι δέ συμμάχων γιγνόμενοι, πρός τε τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παισί τε τισιν ὀρφανοῖς καὶ γυναιξί χήραις εώκεσαν, καί τὰς ὀργάς τάς τε ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ πρῶτοι 1 . . . τῆς τῶν προτέρων παθημάτων μνήμης, οί μὲν αὐτοὶ πειραθέντες, οι δε και εκείνων ακούοντες όσα και οία δ τε Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας έξειργάσαντο, 6 μέτριον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπώπτευον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα, ἄτε καὶ Βαρβαρικού τὸ πλείστον του στρατού αὐτού όντος, πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων.

Ούτως οὖν δὴ πάντων αὐτῶν διακειμένων, καὶ μηδενός, ἔξω τῶν προσφιλῶν πη τῷ Καίσαρι δοκούντων εἶναι, ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιουμένου,² καὶ ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν τρόπων, ὰς οἱ πλείους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσι³ λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ φερεγγύω πίστει θαρσούντων, οὐδ⁴ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥάδιον ὅση μὲν ταραχὴ ὅσον δὲ

Lacuna recognised by Xyl.

² ποιουμένου Xyl., ποιουμένων L. ³ σφίσι Rk., σφών L. 4 οὐδ' Pflugk, οὕτ' L.

were nevertheless grieved at their fate, some expect- B.C. 40 ing that their neighbours, and others that their comrades, would go far away from them and do and suffer many dreadful things. But most of all they bewailed their own lot as they beheld the magistrates and the senate and all the others who had any power-they were not sure, indeed, whether any of them would be left behindquitting their country and them. They reflected how those men would never have wished to flee, had not many altogether dreadful calamities fastened themselves upon the state; and as for themselves, being now bereft of rulers and bereft of allies, they seemed in all respects like orphaned children and widowed wives. [Expecting] to be the first [to experience] the wrath and the lust of the approaching foes, and remembering their former sufferings, some by experience and others by hearing from the victims all the outrages that Marius and Sulla had committed, they did not look for any moderate treatment from Caesar, either. On the contrary, inasmuch as the larger part of his army consisted of barbarians, they expected that their misfortunes would be far greater in number and more terrible than the former ones.

Since, then, all of them were in this state, and no one except those who thought they were good friends of Caesar made light of the situation, and even they, in view of the change of character which most men undergo according to their circumstances, had not the courage of confident assurance, it is not easy to conceive what confusion and what grief prevailed at

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καὶ πένθος ἐν τἢ τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 2 τῶν συνεξορμωμένων σφίσιν ἐξόδφ ἐγένετο. τε γαρ νύκτα πασαν ανασκευαζόμενοι 1 καλ περιφοιτώντες έθορύβουν, και ύπο 2 την έω πολύς μεν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ⁸ οἶκτος (καὶ γὰρ ἐκασταχόθι περιιόντες εύχας εποιούντο) πάντας αύτούς έλάμβανε· τούς τε γὰρ θεούς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὰ δάπεδα κατεφίλουν, δσάκις τε 4 έξ οίων περιεγένοντο ανηριθμούντο, καὶ ὅτι τἦν πατρίδα, δ μηπώποτε ετετόλμητό σφισιν, εξέλειπον, δοδύρουτο πολύς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πύλας θρηνος ην 3 οί μεν γάρ άλλήλους τε αμα καὶ ἐκείνην ώς καὶ τελευταίον δρώντες ήσπάζοντο, οί δὲ ξαυτούς τε έθρήνουν καὶ τοῖς έξιοῦσι συνηύχοντο, καὶ οἵ γε πλείους ώς και προδιδόμενοι κατηρώντο πάντες γαρ και οι υπομένοντες παμπαιδι και παγγυναικί 4 παρήσαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐξωρμῶντο, οἱ δὲ προέπεμπόν σφας άλλοι τε ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ πρὸς τῶν γνωρίμων κατείχοντο, καί περιβάλλοντες άλλήλους έπὶ πλείστον συνηρτῶντο. ἀκολουθοῦντές τε τοῖς ἐξορμωμένοις οί ύπομένοντες έπὶ μακρότατον ἐπεβοῶντό τε ἄμα αὐτοὺς καὶ κατώκτιζου, ἄγειν τέ σφας ἡ καὶ 5 εκείνους οίκοι μένειν άξιοθντες επεθείαζον. κάν τούτω όλολυγη έφ' έκάστω αὐτῶν πολλη καὶ παρά των άλλων και δάκρυα άπλετα έγίγνετο τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλπίδα ἥκιστα, ἄτε ἐν τοις τοιούτοις όντες, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάθη πρότερον μὲν

² ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ L.

⁴ τε R. Steph., τε καὶ L.

¹ ανασκευαζόμενοι Naber, αναγκαζόμενοι L.

³ πρός τοις ieροις placed here by Bk., after και γάρ in L.

⁵ εξέλειπον H. Steph., εξέλιπον L.

the departure of the consuls and those who set out B.C. 49 with them. All night they made an uproar with their packing and running to and fro, and toward dawn great sadness came upon them all at the various temples, as they went about offering prayer on every side. They invoked the gods, kissed the ground, and lamented as often as they enumerated the perils which they had survived, and recalled that they were leaving their country, a thing they had never brought themselves to do before. Around the gates, too, there was much lamenting. Some took fond leave at once of each other and of the city. as if they were beholding them for the last time, others bewailed their own lot and joined their prayers to those of the departing, while the majority uttered curses, on the ground that they were being betrayed. For all who were to remain behind were there, too, with all the women and children. Then the one group set out on their way and the other group escorted them. interposed delays and were detained by their acquaintances; others embraced and clung to each other for a long time. Those who were to remain accompanied those who set out, calling after them and expressing their sympathy, while with appeals to Heaven they besought them to take them, too, or to remain at home themselves. Meanwhile there was much wailing over each one of the exiles, even from outsiders, and tears without restraint. For they were anything but hopeful, in such circumstances, of a change for the better; it was rather

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- οί καταλειπόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀφορμώμενοι 6 προσεδέχοντο. εἴκασε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοὺς ἰδὼν δύο τε δήμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἐκ μιᾶς γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀνίστασθαί τε καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν δὲ ἐγκαταλείπεσθαί τε καὶ ἀλίσκεσθαι.
- 7 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω τὸ ἄστυ ἐξέλιπεν, συχνοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπαγόμενος (ὑπελείφθη-σαν γάρ τινες, οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῦν ἱστάμενοι), καὶ καταλόγους τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων σπουδῆ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ χρήματα ἐξέλεγε, φρουράς τε ὡς ἑκασταχόσε
- 10 ἔπεμπε. Καισαρ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἔμαθε, πρὸς μὲν τὴν 'Ρώμην οὐκ ἠπείχθη (ἄθλόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἤδει τοις κρατήσουσι προκειμένην, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ πολεμίαν οἱ οῦσθεν ἀλλὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δῆθεν
 - 2 ἐπιστρατεύειν ἔλεγε), γράμματα δὲ ἐς πασαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πέμψας, δι' ὧν τόν τε Πομπήιον ἐς δίκην τινὰ προεκαλεῖτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θαρσεῖν παρήνει, κατὰ χώραν τε αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐκέλευε,¹ καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλὰ αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐπὶ Κορφίνιον, ἐπειδή οἱ ὑπὸ Λουκίου Δομιτίου κατεχόμενον οὐ προσεχώρει, ὥρμησε, καὶ τινας ἀπαντήσαντας μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐς πολιορκίαν
 - 3 τούς λοιπούς κατέκλεισεν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος, ἐπειδὴ οὖτοί τε ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέκλινον, τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τήν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν περαιωθῆναι ἔγνω· τῆ τε γὰρ μνήμη ὧν ἐκεῖ ἐπεπράχει, καὶ τῆ τῶν δήμων τῆ τε τῶν βασιλέων

suffering that was expected, first by those who were BC 49 left, and later by those who were departing. Any one who saw them would have supposed that two peoples and two cities were being made from one and that the one group was being driven out and was going into exile, while the other was being left to its fate and taken captive.

Pompey thus left the city, taking many of the senators with him, although some remained behind, either being attached to Caesar's cause or maintaining a neutral attitude toward the two. He hastily raised levies from the cities, collected money, and sent garrisons to each point. Caesar, when he learned of these moves, did not hurry to Rome; for the capital, he knew, lay as a prize before the victors, and he claimed to be marching, not against that place as hostile to him, but rather against his political opponents and in its defence. And he sent letters throughout all Italy in which he challenged Pompey to some kind of trial, and encouraged the others to be of good cheer, bade them remain in their places, and made them many promises. He set out next against Corfinium, because this place, being occupied by Lucius Domitius, would not join his cause, and after conquering in battle a few who met him he shut up the rest and besieged them. Now Pompey, inasmuch as these followers were being besieged and many of the others were falling away to Caesar, had no further hope of Italy, and resolved to cross over into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia. For he derived much encouragement from the remembrance what he had achieved there and from the friendship

4 φιλία πολύ έθάρσει. ἢν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία αὐτῶ πᾶσα οἰκεία, οὐκ εδύνατο 1 δε ες αὐτὴν άσφαλώς, άτε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὰς Γαλατίας έχοντος, κομισθήναι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐλογίζετο ότι, αν αποπλεύση, ούτε ἐπιδιώξει τις αὐτὸν διά τε την των πλοίων ἀπορίαν και διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα (ήδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἢν), κάν τούτω κατά σχολήν πολλά μεν έκ τοῦ υπηκόου πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ

11 στρατεύματα άθροίσει. αὐτός τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ές τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφωρμήθη, καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον έκλιπόντα τὸ Κορφίνιον ἀκολουθεῖν οἱ ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχύν τέ τινα εἶχε καλ ἐπ' αὐτῆ ἐπήλπιζε (καλ γάρ τοὺς στρατιώτας τά τε ἄλλα ἐτεθεραπεύκει καὶ χώρας ὑποσχέ-

2 σει ύπηκτο των τε γάρ Συλλείων έγεγόνει καὶ πολλην έκ της δυναστείας εκείνης εκέκτητο), δμως επειθάρχησε. και ο μεν παρεσκευάζετο όπως δι' ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐκχωρήση· μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ συνόντες οἱ, καὶ κατοκνήσαντες τὴν 2 ἄφοδον ώς καὶ φυγὴν οὖσαν, προσέθεντο τῶ

3 Καίσαρι. και οί μεν συνεστρατεύοντο αυτώ, Δομίτιος δε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ ἢτιάθησαν μεν ύπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆ ἀντιτάξει, ἀπελύθησαν δε

καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπηλθον.

Ο δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ σπουδὴν μὲν εἶχε συμμῖξαί τε αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐκπλεῦσαι, κάν τῆ Ἰταλία διαπολεμήσαι, καταλαβείν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίω ἔτ' ὄντα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ πλοΐα οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ σφισι, προέπεμψεν άλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, μή καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι κατά χώραν ὑπομείναν-

1 ἐδύνατο St., ἠδύνατο L. 2 την Reim., ἐς την L.

of the peoples and the kings. Spain, to be sure, was B.C. 49 likewise wholly devoted to him, but he could not reach it safely, since Caesar held both the Gauls. Moreover he calculated that if he should sail away, no one would pursue him on account of the lack of ships and on account of the winter, as the autumn was now far advanced; and meanwhile he would be amassing at leisure both money and troops, partly from the Roman subjects and partly from their allies. With this purpose, therefore, he himself set out for Brundisium and bade Domitius abandon Corfinium and accompany him. And Domitius, in spite of the large force that he had and the hopes he reposed in it. inasmuch as he had courted the favour of the soldiers in every way and had won them over by promises of land (as one of Sulla's veterans he had acquired a large amount under that régime), nevertheless obeyed orders. He, accordingly, was making preparations to evacuate the town with some degree of safety; but his associates, when they learned of it, shrank from the journey abroad, because it seemed to them a flight, and they attached themselves to Caesar. So these joined the invader's army, but Domitius and the other senators, after being censured by Caesar for arraying themselves against him, were allowed to go and came to Pompey.

Caesar, accordingly, was anxious to join issue with Pompey before he could sail away and to fight out the war in Italy, if he could but overtake his adversary while he was still at Brundisium; for since there were not sufficient ships for all, Pompey had sent ahead the consuls and others, fearing that they might begin some rebellion if they remained there.

2 τες· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸ δυσάλωτον τοῦ χωρίου προεκαλέσατο¹ αὐτὸν ἐς συνθήκας ὡς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τήν τε φιλίαν ἀποληψόμενον. ἀποκριναμένου τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἃ λέγει κοινώσεται, ἐπειδὴ ἐδέδοκτό σφισι μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντων ἐς λόγους 3 δέχεσθαι, προσέβαλε τῆ πόλει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἡμύνατο, μέχρις οὖ τὰ πλοῖα ἐπανῆλθε· διοικοδομήσας δὲ ἐν τούτω καὶ ἀποφράξας τὰς ἐς τὸν λιμένα ὁδούς, μὴ καὶ ἐπίθηταί τις αὐτῷ ἐκπλέοντι, ἔπειτα νυκτὸς ἐξανήχθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεραιώθη, τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον δύο τε ἐν αὐτῷ πλοῖα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν ἑάλω.

13 Πομπήρος μὲν οὖν τήν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν οὕτως ἐξέλιπε πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τοῖς πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς ἸΑσίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ ἔλόμενος καὶ πράξας· ἀφ' ὅνπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀντίπαλον 2 ἐκτήσατο. τά τε γὰρ στρατόπεδα πρότερον εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, ἵνα μή τι τοὺς πολίτας λυπήση, ἀφείς, ἔτερα δι' αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγε· καὶ τοὺς πλούτους τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀγαγών, πάνθ' 3 ὅσα ἠδυνήθη τότε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐτέρωσε ² ἐκόμισε· καὶ τῶν μὲν οἴκοι πάντων ἀπέγνω, τοῖς δ' ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ τοῖς γε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποτε δουλωθεῖσι συμμάχοις κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος χρήσασθαι ἐνόει, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείω ἐλπίδα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἐν³ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσιν

¹ προεκαλέσατο Reim., προσεκαλέσατο L.

² ἐτέρωσε R. Steph., ἐτέρως L. ³ ἐν added by Bk.

Caesar, seeing the difficulty of capturing the place, because urged his opponent to come to some agreement, assuring him that he should obtain both peace and friendship again. When Pompey replied inerely that he would communicate to the consuls what Caesar said, the latter, masmuch as those officials had decided to receive no citizen in arms for a conference, assaulted the city. Pompey repelled him for some days until the ships returned; and having meanwhile barricaded and obstructed the streets leading to the harbour, so that no one should attack him as he was sailing forth, he then put out by night. Thus he crossed over to Macedonia in safety, and Brundisium was captured along with two ships full of men.

So Pompey in this way deserted his country and the rest of Italy, choosing and carrying out quite the opposite of his former course, when he had sailed back to it from Asia; hence he gained the opposite fortune and reputation. For, whereas formerly he had at once dismissed his legions at Brundisium, so as not to cause the citizens any anxiety, he was now leading away through that town other forces gathered from Italy to fight against them; and whereas he had brought the wealth of the barbarians to Rome, he now carried away from it all that he could to other places. Of all the citizens at home he despaired, but purposed to use against his country foreigners and the allies once enslaved by him; and he placed in them far more hope both of safety and of power than in those whom he had

4 ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς λαμπρότητος ἢν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐκείνων κτησάμενος
ἀφίκετο, ταπεινότητα πρὸς τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φόβον ἀντιλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς
εὐκλείας ἢν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα αὐξῆσαι ἔσχεν,
δυσκλεέστατος ἐπὶ τῆ τότε ἐκλείψει αὐτῆς
ἐγένετο.

14 Καὶ εὐθύς γε καταίρων ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξει τοτρατιώτας τε γὰρ κεραυνοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρόσπλῷ ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀράχναι κατέσχον, έκβάντος τε έκ της νεως αυτού όφεις τον στίβον 2 ἐπισπόμενοι συνέχεον. ἐκείνω μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὰ τέρατα εγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάση τη πόλει τούτφ τε τφ έτει καὶ ολίγον έμπροσθεν έτερα. όντως γάρ που άμφοτέρωθεν έν ταῖς στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λύκοι τε καὶ βύαι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει 3 ὤφθησαν, καὶ σεισμοὶ συνεχεῖς μετὰ μυκηθμῶν έγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διήξε, καὶ έτερον άλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου? ναον κατέφλεξεν. ὅ τε ήλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπε, καὶ κεραυνοὶ σκήπτρόν τε Διὸς καὶ ἄσπίδα κράνος τε "Αρεως, εν τω Καπιτωλίω ανακείμενα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς τοὺς 4 νόμους έχούσας έλυμήναντο. ζῷά τε πολλὰ έξω της έαυτων φύσεως εγέννησε τινα, καλ λόγιά τινα ώς καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὄντα ἤδετο, κάτοχοί τέ τινες γιγνόμενοι συχνὰ ἐθείαζον. καὶ πολίαρχος οὐδεὶς ές τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὥσπερ

¹ ἀπαλλάξει Rk., ἀπαλλάξειεν L.

benefited. Instead of the brilliance, therefore, ac- B.C. 49 quired in those wars, which had marked his arrival, he departed with humiliation as his portion because of his fear of Caesar; and instead of the fame which he had gained for exalting his country, he became most infamous for his desertion of her.

Now at the very moment of coming to land at Dyrrachium he learned that he should not obtain a prosperous outcome. For thunderbolts destroyed some soldiers even as the ships were approaching; spiders occupied the army standards; and after he had left the vessel serpents followed and obliterated his footprints. These were the portents which came to him personally, but for the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously; for there is no doubt that in civil wars the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the city itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings. The sun, too, suffered a total eclipse, and thunderbolts damaged a sceptre of Jupiter and a shield and a helmet of Mars that were votive offerings on the Capitol, and likewise the tables which contained the laws. Many animals brought forth creatures outside of their own species, some oracles purporting to be those of the Sibyl were made known, and some men became inspired and uttered numerous divinations. No prefect of the city was chosen for the Feriae, as had been the

εἴθιστο, ἡρέθη, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, διώκησαν ἔτεροι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει φασὶν αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐγένετο, τότε¹ δὲ καὶ ὁ Περπέρνας ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ποτὲ τιμητεύσας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἔφην, τελευταῖος πάντων τῶν ἐν τῆ τιμητεία αὐτοῦ βουλευσάν-6 των, καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτό τι νεοχμώσειν. ἐταράττοντο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρασιν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἰόμενοι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλπίζοντες ἐκάτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας σφῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποσκήψειν οὐδὲν ἐξεθύσαντο.

15 'Ο οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὐδὲ ἐπείρασε τότε πλεῦσαι (πλοίων τε γὰρ ἠπόρει ἄμα καὶ περὶ τἢ Ἰταλία² ἐδεδίει, μὴ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑποστράτηγοι ἐπελθόντες κατάσχωσι), τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον διὰ φυλακῆς, τοῦ μή τινα τῶν ἀπηρκότων 2 ἀναπλεῦσαι, ποιησάμενος πρός τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἢλθε, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὑπό τε τοῦ ᾿Αντωνίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λογγίνου παρασκευασθείσης (ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τότε αὐτὴν ἤθροισαν) ἐδημηγόρησε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιεικῆ, ὅπως πρός τε τὸ παρὸν εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς 3 τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦς τε γιγνομένοις ἀχθομένους καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατιω-

¹ τότε Bs., τοῦτο L.

² τῆ Ἰταλία Reim., τὴν ἰταλίαν L.

custom, but the praetors, at least according to some B.C 19 accounts, performed all his duties; others, however, say they did this in the following year. That, to be sure, was an occurrence that happened again; but at this time Perperna, who had once been censor with Philippus, died, being the last, as I have stated, of all the senators who had been alive in his censorship. This event, too, seemed to portend some political change. Now the people were naturally disturbed at the portents, but as both sides thought and hoped that the calamities would all light on their opponents, they offered no expiatory sacrifices.

Caesar did not even attempt to sail to Macedonia at this time, because he was short of ships and was anxious about Italy, fearing that the lieutenants of Pompey might assail it from Spam and occupy it; but putting Brundisium under guard, so that no one of those who had departed should sail back again, he then proceeded to Rome. There the senate had been assembled for him outside the pomerium by Antony and Longinus; for though they had once been expelled from that body they now convened it. He accordingly delivered a speech of some length and of a temperate character, so that they might feel good-will toward him for the time being and also excellent hope for the future. For as soon as he saw that they were displeased at what was going on

¹ In a book now lost.

² Valerius Maximus (viii. 13, 4) and Pliny (N.H. vii. 48) are probably more accurate when they state that he outlived all those who were senators in the year of his consulship (B c. 92) and all but seven of those whom he appointed to that body during his censorship (B c. 86) He died at the age of 98.

τικον πλήθος ύποπτεύοντας αὐτούς έώρα, παραμυθήσασθαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαί σφας τρόπον τινὰ ηθέλησεν, ίνα τά γε εκείνων, έως αν διαπολεμήση, 4 εν ήσυχία μείνη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὔτ' ἢτιάσατό τινα οὖτ' ἡπείλησέ τινι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδρομήν κατά των πολεμείν πολίταις έθελόντων ούκ ἄνευ ἀρών ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταίον πρέσβεις ὑπέρ τε της εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ 1 της δμονοίας σφών παραχρήμα πρός τε τούς ύπάτους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον πεμφθηναι ἐσηγήσατο. 16 τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ αὐτὸν έξω τοῦ πωμηρίου συνελθόντα, εἰπών, σῖτόν τε έκ των νήσων μετεπέμψατο καὶ πέντε καὶ εβδομήκοντα δραγμάς έκάστω δώσειν υπέσχετο. ό μεν τούτοις αὐτούς δελεάσειν ήλπιζεν, οί δ' ανθρωποι λογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὕτε φρονοῦσιν οὕτε πράττουσι τὰ αὐτὰ οί τε ἐφιέμενοί τινων καὶ οί 2 τυγόντες, άλλ' έν μεν ταίς άρχαίς των έργων πάντα τὰ ήδιστα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπρᾶξαί τι δυναμένοις, επειδάν δε κατορθώσωσιν δσα βούλονται, ούτε τινός αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσι καὶ έπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἃς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρῶνται, μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν 3 Μάριον τόν τε Σύλλαν, ώς πολλά καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πολλάκις σφίσιν εἰπόντες οἶα ἀνθ' οἵων έδρασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος χρείαν αἰσθόμενοι, τά τε ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχού της πόλεως δρώντες όντα, ούτε πιστεύειν τοίς λεγομένοις ούτε θαρρείν εδύναντο. 1 δπέρ Bk., περί L. 30

and suspicious of the multitude of soldiers, he B.C. 49 wished to encourage and tame them, so to speak, in order that quiet might prevail at least in their quarter until he should bring the war to an end. He therefore censured no one and made no threat against anyone, but delivered an attack, not without imprecations, upon those who chose to war upon citizens, and at last proposed that envoys be sent immediately to the consuls and to Pompey to treat for peace and harmony. He made these same statements also to the populace, when that body had likewise assembled outside the pomerium; and he sent for grain from the islands, and promised to give each citizen three hundred sesterces.1 He hoped to tempt them with this bait; but the men reflected that those who are pursuing certain ends and those who have attained them do not think or act alike, but at the beginning of their undertakings they offer every conceivable gratification to such as are in a position to work against them in any way, whereas, when they succeed in what they wish, they remember none of their promises and use against those very persons the power which they have received from them. Recalling also the behaviour of Marius and Sulla,-how many benevolent phrases they had often addressed to them and then what treatment they had accorded them in return for their services, and furthermore perceiving Caesar's need and seeing that his armed forces were many and were everywhere in the city, they were unable either to trust his words or to be cheered by them.

¹ Literally, seventy-five drachmae or denari. Dio expresses all sums in this unit, but in the translation the Roman practice will be followed.

4 ἀλλ' ἔναυλον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φόβον ἔχοντες καὶ εκείνου υπετόπουν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οι πρέσβεις οί τὰς καταλλαγὰς δήθεν πρυτανεύσοντες 1 ήρέθησαν μέν, οὐκ ἐξῆλθον δέ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη ποτὲ περί αὐτῶν ὁ Πίσων ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἔσχε. 17 τοσούτου τε έδέησαν τὰ χρήματα à ὑπέσχετό σφισι τότε γε λαβεῖν, ὥστέ καὶ τάλλά οἱ πάνθ όσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἢν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οθς έφοβοθντο, τροφην έδοσαν. και έπι πασιν τούτοις ώς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς οὖσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν είρηνικήν μετημπίσχοντο οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτήν 2 μετειλήφεσαν. άντεῖπε μεν οθν προς την περί τῶν χρημάτων ἐσήγησιν Λούκιός ² τις Μέτελλος δήμαρχος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρός τε τοὺς θησαυρούς ήλθε καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρήσει ἐποιήσατο σμικρὸν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς της παρρησίας, αύτου, ώσπεο που καί στρατιώται φροντίσαντες τήν τε βαλανάγραν διέκοψαν (τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὕπατοι εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξόν τισι πελέκεσιν ἀντ' αὐτης χρήσασθαί) 3 και πάντα τὰ χρήματα έξεφόρησαν. και μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τον αὐτον τρόπον, ώς μοι πολλαχόθι εἴρηται, ὀνόματι μὲν ἰσονομίας (καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐσεφέρετο) ἔργφ δὲ δυναστείας καὶ εψηφίζετο καὶ επράττετο. τούς γαρ αντιστασιάζοντάς σφισι πολεμίους έκάτεροι της πατρίδος ονομάζοντες, και έαυτους ύπερ των κοινών πολεμείν λέγοντες, τά τε ίδια μόνα ηθέον, κάκεινα όμοίως άμφότεροι έφθειρον. 18 'Ο δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ

¹ πρυτανεύσοντες Reim., πρυτανεύοντες L.

On the contrary, as they had fresh in their memory B.C 19 the fear caused by former events, they suspected him also, particularly since the envoys who were to effect the "reconciliation," as he termed it, did not set out after being chosen; indeed, Piso, his fatherin-law, was once called to account for so much as referring to them. And far from receiving at that time the money which he had promised them, the people had to give him all the rest that remained in the treasury for the support of his soldiers, whom they feared. In honour of all these things, as if they were propitious events, the citizens changed back to the garb of peace, which up to this time they had not resumed. Now Lucius Metellus, a tribune, opposed the proposition about the money, and when his efforts proved unavailing, he went to the treasury and kept guard at the doors. But the soldiers, paying little heed to the guard he kept or, I imagine, to his outspokenness either, cut the bolt in two (for the consuls had the key, just as if it were not possible for persons to use axes in place of it!) and carried off all the money. In the case of Caesar's other projects also, as I have often stated, he both brought them to vote and carried them out in the same fashion, under the name of democracy, inasmuch as the majority of them were introduced by Antony, but with the substance of despotism. Both Caesar and Pompey called their opponents enemies of their country and declared that they themselves were fighting for the public interests, whereas each alike was really ruining those interests and advancing merely his own private ends.

After taking these steps Caesar occupied Sardima

την Σαρδώ την τε Σικελίαν άμαχει κατέσχεν, έκχωρησάντων των τότε έν αὐτάις ἀρχόντων. τόν τε 'Αριστόβουλον οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην, 2 όπως τῷ Πομπηίω τι ἀντιπράξη, ἔστειλε καί τοις παισι των ύπο του Σύλλου επικηρυχθέντων άρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐφῆκε, τά τε ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ τὰ έν τη πόλει καὶ τὰ έν τη λοιπη Ἰταλία, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐαυτῶ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων 3 κατέστησε. καὶ ἐκείνα μὲν τῷ ᾿Αντωνίω ἐπέτρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τά τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ισχυρώς αίρουμένην και ές δέος αὐτόν, μη και τὰς Γαλατίας προσαποστήση, καθιστάν-4 τας, ώρμησε. κάν τούτφ άλλοι τε βουλευταί καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, μηδὲ ἐς ὄψιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλθών, πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ως γε τά τε δικαιότερα πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμω κρατήσοντα ἀπεχώ-5 ρησεν. οί τε γὰρ ὕπατοι, πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἄτε ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρχων, πάντας αὐτοὺς έκέλευσαν ές Θεσσαλονίκην ακολουθήσαι, ώς τοῦ μεν άστεως προς πολεμίων τινών έχομένου, αὐτοί δὲ ἄτε ² γερουσία ὄντες καὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας 6 πρόσχημα, όπου ποτ' αν ωσιν, έξοντες. καί σφισί διὰ ταῦτα τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ίππέων οι πλείους, οι μεν εύθύς τότε οι δε καί ύστερον, και αί πόλεις πασαι, όσαι μη ύπο των τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλων κατείργοντο, προσεχώρησαν.

19 Οἱ μέντοι Μασσαλιῶται μόνοι τῶν ἐν τῆ Γαλατία οἰκούντων οὔτε συνήραντο τῷ Καίσαρι οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρισιν 2 αὐτῷ ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔδοσαν· τῷ τε γὰρ δήμω

^{1 &#}x27;Iβηρίαν Xvl., ἐταλίαν L. 2 ἄτε Oddey, ή τε L.

and Sicily without a contest, as the governors who is the were there at the time withdrew. Aristobulus he sent home to Palestine to accomplish something against Pompey. He also allowed the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sulla to canvass for office, and arranged everything else both in the city and in the rest of Italy to his own best advantage, so far as circumstances permitted Affairs at home he now committed to Antony's care, while he himself set out for Spain, which was strongly favouring the side of Pompey and causing Caesar some fear that it might induce the Gauls also to revolt. Meanwhile Cicero and other senators, without even appearing before Caesar, retired to join Pompey, since they believed he had more justice on his side and would conquer in the war. For not only the consuls, before they had set sail, but Pompey also, under the authority he had as proconsul, had ordered them all to accompany him to Thessalonica, on the ground that the capital was held by enemies and that they themselves were the senate and would maintain the form of the government wherever they should be. For this reason most of the senators and the knights joined them, some of them at once, and others later, and likewise all the cities that were not coerced by Caesar's armed forces.

Now the Massaliots, alone of the peoples living in Gaul, did not cooperate with Caesar, and did not receive him into their city, but gave him a noteworthy answer. They said that they were allies of the

τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμαγείν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδείως. άμφοτέροις έχειν, και μήτε πολυπραγμονείν τι μήθ' ίκανοι διακρίναι πότερος αὐτῶν άδικει είναι έφασαν, ώστε εί μέν τις ώς φίλος έθέλοι πρὸς σφας έλθειν, καν ι αμφοτέρους αὐτούς άνευ των όπλων δέξασθαι έλεγον, ἐπὶ πολέμω δὲ οὐδέτερον. 3 καταστάντες τε 2 ές πολιορκίαν αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον ἀπεκρούσαντο, καὶ τῷ Τρεβωνίω τῷ τε Βρούτω τῷ Δεκίμω³ μετὰ τοῦτο προσεδρεύσασί σφισιν έπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ χρόνον τινα, ώς καὶ ραδίως αὐτοὺς αἰρήσων, προσεκαρτέρησε (καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δεινὸν ἐδόκει είναι ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ἐνώμης ἀμαχεὶ κρατήσας ὑπὸ 4 Μασσαλιωτών οὐκ ἐδέχετο), ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀντήρκουν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐτέροις προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς την 'Ιβηρίαν ήπείχθη.

20 'Επεπόμφει μὲν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν Γάιον Φάβιον, δείσας δὲ μὴ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀγωνισάμενος πταίση, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσεν. εἶχον δὲ τότε τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ὅ τε 'Αφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρέιος, καὶ φυλακὴν μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπεποίηντο, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς Ἰλέρδαν ⁴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐπιόντας 2 ὑπέμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν Φαβίφ τήν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυρηναίου φρουρὰν βιασαμένφ τὰν τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σίκοριν διαβαίνοντι προσπεσόντες ἐξαίφνης πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀποληφθέντας· ἡ γὰρ γέφυρα πρὶν διελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καταρραγείσα

¹ κάν Kubler, και L. 2 καταστάντες τε Bk., καταστάντε L.

³ Δεκίμφ R Steph., δεκίωι L (and so frequently).

^{4 &#}x27;Ιλέ δαν Gros, λέρδαν L.
5 βιασαμένω Pflugk, ποιησαμένω L.

Roman people and felt friendly towards both sides, BC 49 and that they were neither intermeddling at all nor in a position to decide which of the two was in the wrong; consequently, in case they were approached in a friendly manner, they would receive them both, they said, without their arms, but if it were a question of making war, neither of them. On being subjected to a siege they not only repulsed Caesar himself but held out for a very long time against Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who besieged them later. For Caesar had persisted in his attempt for some time. thinking to capture them easily, and regarding it as absurd that after vanquishing Rome without a battle he was not received by the Massaliots; but when they continued to hold out, he left them to the care of others and himself hastened into Spain.

He had sent Gaius Fabius thither, but fearing the other would fail while contending by himself, he, too, made a campaign. Afranius and Petreius at this time had charge of affairs in the vicinity of the Iberus and had even posted a guard over the pass in the mountains, but in the main they had gathered their forces at Ilerda and there awaited the invaders. Fabius overcame the garrison upon the Pyrenees, but as he was crossing the river Sicons the enemy fell upon him suddenly and killed many of his men who were cut off; for the bridge collapsed before all had crossed and thus proved of the greatest

3 πλείστόν σφισι συνήρατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι έπελθόντι τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον και τὸν ποταμὸν καθ' έτέραν 1 γέφυραν διαβάντι, προκαλουμένω τε αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ πάνυ πολλάς ημέρας συμβαλείν, άλλ' άντιστρατο-4 πεδευσάμενοι αὐτῷ ἡσύχαζον. θαρσήσας οὖν ἐκ τούτου καταλαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ταφρεύματός σφων και της πόλεως καρτερου ου ἐπεχείρησευ, ώς καὶ τῶυ τειχῶυ αὐτοὺς άποκλείσων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν 5 'Αφράνιον προκατέσχον αὐτό, καὶ τούς τε προσβάλλοντάς σφισιν άπεώσαντο, καὶ φεύγουσιν αύτοις επισπόμενοι τούς άντεπεξελθόντας έκ τοῦ ερύματος υπέστησαν, ενδόντες τε εξεπίτηδες ύπήγαγόν σφας ές χωρία ξαυτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια. κάνταθθα πολλώ πλείους έφόνευσαν, κάκ τούτων έπιθαρσήσαντες τοίς τε προνομεύουσιν αὐτῶν επετίθεντο και τους αποσκεδαννυμένους ελύπουν 6 καί ποτε διαβάντων τινών ες τὰ επέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κάν τούτω χειμῶνός τε γενομένου καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἡ ἐκέχρηντο διαφθαρείσης, ἐπιδιέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐτέραν γέφυραν τὴν πρὸς τῆ πόλει οὖσαν καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνάλωσαν, μηδενός σφισιν ἐπαμῦναι δυνηθέντος.

Ο οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ οὔτε 21 των συμμάχων τις ἐπεκούρει οἱ (ἐκδεχόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὡς ἐκάστους αἴσθοιντο προσιόντας, ... 3) τά τ 3 4 6 πιτήδεια, ἄτε 5 6 ν τε

¹ έτέραν R. Steph., έκατέραν L. 2 το R. Steph., τοῦ L

³ Lacuna recognized by Xyl. ⁴ τ' added by Xyl.

⁵ ἄτε Rk , τε L.

assistance to the foe. When Caesar came up, not B C. 49 long afterward, he crossed the river by another bridge and challenged them to battle; but for a great many days they did not dare to try conclusions with him, but remained quietly encamped opposite him. Encouraged thereby, he undertook to seize the ground between their entrenchments and the a strong position, with the city, as it was intention of shutting them off from the walls. Afranius and his followers, on perceiving this, occupied the place first, repulsed their assailants, and pursued them when they fled. Then, when others came out against them from the camp, they at first withstood them, then yielded purposely, and so lured them into positions which were favourable to themselves, where they slew many more of them. In consequence of this they took courage, attacked their opponents' foraging parties and harassed those who were scattered. And on one occasion when some soldiers had crossed to the other side of the river and meanwhile a great storm had come up and destroyed the bridge which they had used, they crossed over after them by the other bridge, which was mear the city, and destroyed them all, since no one was able to come to their assistance.

Caesar, when things were taking this course, fell into desperate straits; for none of his allies rendered him assistance, since his opponents met [and annihilated] the separate forces as often as they heard that any were approaching, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain provisions, masmuch as he was

άλλοτρία ὢν καὶ πταίων, χαλεπῶς ἐπορίζετο, 2 ἐν παυτὶ ἐγένετο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν οἴκω 'Υωμαῖοι ἐκείνου τε ὡς οὐκέτι πλείω χρόνον περιοίσοντος ¹ ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπέκλινον· καί τινες καὶ τότε πρὸς 11ομπήιου άπέκλινου καί τίνες καί τότε πρός 3 αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ βουλευταὶ ἀπῆραν. καὶ εἴγε μὴ οἱ Μασσαλιῶται ἐν τούτφ ναυμαχία πρὸς τοῦ Βρούτου τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆ ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, καίπερ καὶ τῷ Δομιτίφ συμμάχφ χρώμενοι καὶ τῆ ἐμπειρία τῶν ναυτικῶν προέχοντες, ἡττήθησαν κάκ τούτου παντελῶς ἀπεκλείσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἃν ἐκώλυσε πάντα 4 τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ φθαρῆναι. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τα πραγματά αυτου φυαρηναί. Συν δε επί το μείζον έκ παρασκευης τοις "Ιβηρσιν άγγελθέντα ταιτα ούτως ηλλοίωσε τινας αυτών ώστε και τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονησαι. και αυτούς παραλαβών της τε τροφης ηυπόρησε και γεφύρας κατεσκεύασε, τους τε εναντίους ελύπει, καί ποτε συχνούς αὐτῶν αἰφνίδιον ἐν τῆ χώρα πλανωμένους ἀπολαβων ἀπώλεσεν.

μένους άπολαβών άπώλεσεν.
22 'Ο οὖν 'Αφράνιος ἀθυμήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ τὰ ἐν² 'Ιλέρδα οὔτε ἀσφαλῆ οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς χρόνιον διατριβὴν ἰδὼν ὄντα, ἀναχωρῆσαι πρός τε τὸν 'Ίβηρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις ἔγνω, καὶ νυκτός, ὡς λήσων ἡ φθάσων τοὺς ² ἐναντίους, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθε μὲν ἀνιστάμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπεδιώχθη· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ οὐχ ἡγήσατο ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐν³ σκότω πολεμίοις ἐμπείροις τῆς χώρας μετὰ ἀπείρων ἐπακολουθῆσαι. ὡς μέντοι ἡ ἡμέρα

περιοίσοντοs R. Steph., περιοίσοντο L.
 ἐν added by R. Steph.
 ἐν added by St.

in a hostile territory and unsuccessful in his opera- B.C. 49 tions. The Romans at home, when they learned of this, renounced all hope of him, believing that he could hold out but a short time longer, and began to fall away to Pompey; and some few senators and others set out to join the latter even then. But just at this time the Massaliots were defeated in a naval battle by Brutus owing to the size of his ships and the strength of his marines, although they had Domitius as an ally and surpassed in their experience of naval affairs; and after this they were shut off completely. But for this nothing would have prevented Caesar's projects from being ruined. As it was, however, the victory was announced to the Spaniards with so much intentional exaggeration that it led some of them to change and take the side of Caesar. When he had obtained these adherents, he secured plenty of food, constructed bridges, harassed his opponents, and on one occasion intercepted suddenly a large number of them who were wandering about the country and destroyed them.

Afranius was disheartened at these reverses, and seeing that affairs in Herda were not safe satisfactory for a prolonged stay, he determined to retire to the Iberus and to the cities there. He set out on the journey by night, intending to elude the enemy's notice or at least get the start of them. And though his departure did not remain undiscovered, vet he was not immediately pursued, for Caesar did not think it safe in the darkness and with men ignorant of the country to follow up an enemy that was well acquainted with it. When day

διέλαμψεν, ήπείχθη, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν μέση τῆ όδω καταλαβων πανταχόθεν έξαπίνης πόρρωθεν περιεστοιχίσατο τῷ τε γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ περιῆυ, καί τὸ χωρίον κοίλον ου συμμαχούν ἔσγεν. 3 δμόσε γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησέ σφισι χωρῆσαι, τὸ μέν τι φοβηθείς μη καί ές ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες έξεργάσωνταί τι δεινόν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκονιτί σφας παραστήσεσθαι ελπίσας. ὅ καὶ ἐγένετο· ώς γὰρ πολλαχη πειράσαντες οὐδαμη διαπεσείν ηδυνήθησαν, και έκ τε τούτου και έκ της άγρυπνίας της τε πορείας έκεκμηκεσαν, και προσέτι 4 ούτε τροφήν είχον (αύθημερον γάρ τον σταθμον διατελέσειν προσδοκήσαντες οὐδεν ἐπηνέγκαντο) οὔθ' ὕδατος εὐπόρουν (τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐκεῖνα δεινως έστιν ἄνυδρα), παρέδοσάν σφας, έφ' δ μήτε τι δεινον πάθωσι μήτε έπι τον Πομπήιον 23 αναγκασθωσίν οί συστρατεύσαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς άκριβώς εκάτερον ο Καΐσαρ εφύλαξεν γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐν τούτω τῷ πολέμω άλόντων οὐδένα, καίτοι ἐκείνων ποτὲ ἐν άνογη τινι άφυλάκτως τινάς των ξαυτού ξγοντας φθειράντων, ούτε τω Πομπηίω αντιπολεμήσαι έξεβιάσατο, άλλὰ τοὺς μέν λογιμωτάτους ἡφίει, τοίς δ' άλλοις έθελονταίς συμμάχοις διά τε τὰ κέρδη 2 καὶ διὰ τὰς τιμὰς ἐχρῆτο. καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστά γε έκ τούτων ούτε ές την δόξαν ούτε ές τὰ πράγματα ἀπώνητο.2 τάς τε γὰρ πόλεις τὰς έν τη 'Ιβηρία πάσας καὶ τούς στρατιώτας τούς έκει πάντας (ήσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἐν τη Βαιτική

¹ παραστήσεσθαι Reim., παραστήσασθαι L. 2 ἀπώνητο Naber, ἀπώνατο L

dawned, however, he hastened forward, and, over- B.C. 49 taking them in the middle of their journey, he suddenly surrounded them on all sides at a distance; for he was much superior in numbers and found the bowl-shaped character of the region a For he did not wish to come to close quarters with the enemy, partly because he was afraid that they might become desperate and carry out some rash undertaking, and partly because he hoped to win them over anyway without a conflict. This actually happened. They first tried to break through at many points, but were unable to do so anywhere, and became exhausted from this attempt as well as from loss of sleep and from their march; furthermore, they had no food, since, expecting to finish their journey the same day, they had brought along, and they were also without sufficient water. inasmuch as that region is terribly dry. They accordingly surrendered, on condition that they should not be harshly treated nor compelled to join his expedition against Pompey. Caesar kept each of his promises to them scrupulously He did not put to death a single man captured in this war, in spite of the fact that his foes had once, during a truce, destroyed some of his own men who were caught off their guard; and he did not force them to fight against Pompey, but released the most prominent and employed the rest as allies who were willing to serve for the gains and honours in prospect. By this course both his reputation and his cause profited not a little; for he won over all the cities in Spain and all the soldiers there, a considerable

καὶ μετὰ Μάρκου Τερεντίου Οὐάρρωνος 1 ὑποστρα-

τήγου συχνοί) προσεποιήσατο.

Παραλαμβάνων τε οὖν ἄμα αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάμενος διέδραμε μέχρι Γαδείρων. καὶ ἐλύπησε μεν οὐδένα οὐδεν πλην χρημάτων ἐκλογης (ταῦτα ² γαρ παμπληθή ἐσέπραξεν), ἐτίμησε δὲ 3 καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινή πολλούς καὶ τοῖς γε Γαδειρεῦσι πολιτείαν απασιν έδωκεν, ην και δ δημός σφισιν 2 ύστερον ἐπεκύρωσε. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ἀμειβόμενός σφας της τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψεως, δι' ης ἐνταῦθα, ότε έταμίευσε, συγγεγονέναι τῆ μητρὶ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἀπ' 4 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὥσπερ είπον, έλαβεν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο τῶ Λογγίνω τῷ Κασσίω προσέταξεν, ἐπειδὴ συνήθης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ταμιείας ἦν ὑπὸ τῷ 3 Πομπηίω ετεταμιεύκει ην 5 αυτός δε μέχρι Ταρράκωνος πλοίοις εκομίσθη, εντεύθεν δε δια τοῦ Πυρηναίου προχωρών τρόπαιον μὲν οὐδὲν έπ' αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν, ὅτι μηδὲ τον Πομπήιον καλώς ἀκούσαντα ἐπὶ τούτω ἤσθετο, βωμὸν δὲ δὴ έκ 8 λίθων ξεστών συνφκοδομημένον μέγαν οὐ πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνου τροπαίων ίδρύσατο.

Έν & δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Μασσαλιῶται νεῶν 25 σφισι παρά τοῦ Πομπηίου αὖθις πεμφθεισῶν ανεκινδύνευσαν. καὶ ἡττήθησαν μὲν καὶ τότε, διεκαρτέρουν δέ, καίτοι καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἤδη 2 του Καίσαρα έχουτα πυνθανόμενοι, και τάς τε

¹ Οὐάρρωνος R. Steph., άρωνος L. τ δὲ Pflugk, τε L.

⁴ ἀπ' H Steph. ἐπ' L. ⁵ ἦν supplied by Reim. and Dind

⁶ Ταρράκωνος Bs., Ταρρακώνης L.

⁸ ek added by Reim. 7 unde Rk., uhre L.

number of whom were with Marcus Terentius Varro, B.C. 19 the lieutenant, besides others in Baetica.

So, taking charge of these and arranging their affairs, he advanced as far as Gades, injuring no one at all except in so far as the exacting of money was concerned; for of this he levied very large sums. Many of the natives he honoured both privately and publicly, and to all the people of Gades he granted citizenship, which the people of Rome later confirmed to them. This kindness he did them in return for the dream he had seen at the time he was quaestor there, wherein he had seemed to have intercourse with his mother; it was this dream that had given him the hope of sole rulership, as I have stated. Having done this, he assigned that nation to Cassius Longinus, because the latter was familiar with the inhabitants from his quaestorship which he had served under Pompey; and he himself proceeded by ship to Tarraco. Thence he advanced across the Pyrenees, but did not set up any trophy on their summits, because he understood that Pompey had gained no good name for so doing; but he erected a great altar constructed of polished stones not far from his rival's trophies.

While this was going on, the Massaliots hazarded another conflict after ships had again been sent them by Pompey. They were defeated on this occasion also, and yet held out, even though they learned that Caesar was already master of Spain. They not only vigorously repulsed all attacks but

προσβολὰς ὶσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ διοκωχήν ¹ τινα ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθη, προσχωρήσοντες ποιησάμενοι, ² τόν τε Δομίτιον ὑπεξέπεμψαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθεμένους σφίσιν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς νυκτὸς οὕτω διέθεσαν ἄστε μηδὲν ἔτι τολμῆσαι. τῷ μέντοι Καίσαρι αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι ³ ὡμολόγησαν καὶ δς ἐκείνων τότε μὲν τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς τά τε χρήματα ἀφείλετο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα πλὴν τοῦ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀνόματος. ἀνθ ὧν ἡ Φώκαια ⁴ ἡ ⁵ μητρόπολίς σφων ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀφείθη.

26 Καὶ στρατιωτῶν τινων ἐν Πλακεντία στασιασάντων καὶ μηκέτ' ἀκολουθῆσαί οἱ ἐθελόντων, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τεταλαιπωρημένων, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι μήτε τὴν χώραν διαρπάζειν μήτε τἄλλα ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε (καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζον οὐδενὸς ὅτου ⁶ οὐ τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἄτε καὶ ἐν χρεία τοσαύτη σφῶν 2 ὄντος), οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα, καὶ ἵνα τῶν τε λεγομένων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τοὺς κολαζομένους ἰδόντες μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν καθηκόντων ἐθελήσωσι πρᾶξαι, ἔλεξε τάδε.

27 "'Εγώ, & ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, βούλομαι μὲν φιλεῖσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνεξαμαρ-

¹ διοκωχήν Dind., διακωχήν L.

² ποιησάμενοι Η. Steph., ποιησόμενοι L.

³ ἐλθόντι Rk., ἐθελοντί L.

⁴ Φώκαια R. Steph., φωκέα L. ⁵ ή added by Bk.

⁶ δτου Bk., δτου οδν L.

⁷ έθελήσωσι R. Steph., έθελήσουσι L.

also, after arranging a kind of armistice, on the plea that they were going over to Caesar, when he should come, sent Domitius out of the harbour secretly and caused such injuries to the soldiers who had attacked them by night in the midst of the truce, that these ventured to make no further attempts. With Caesar himself, however, they made terms upon his arrival; and he at that time deprived them of their arms, ships and money, and later of everything else except the name of freedom. To offset this misfortune Phocaea, their mother city, was made free by Pompey

At Placentia some soldiers mutinied and refused to accompany Caesar longer, on the pretext that they were exhausted, but really because he did not allow them to plunder the country nor to do all the other things on which their minds were set; for their hope was to obtain from him anything and everything, inasmuch as he stood in so great need of them. Yet he did not yield, but, with a view to being safe from them and in order that after listening to his words and seeing the guilty punished they should feel no desire to transgress the established rules, he called together both the mutinous men and the others, and spoke as follows:

"Soldiers, I desire to have your affection, and still I should not choose on that account to share in your

¹ Caesar (B.C. ii 14) attributes the breaking of the truce to the Massaliots.

τάνειν ἂν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦθ' ἐλοίμην ἀγαπῶ τε γὰρ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐθέλοιμ' ἄν, ὡς πατὴρ παῖδας, 2 καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐθενεῖν 1 καὶ εὐθοξεῖν. μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσητε φιλοῦντος ἔργον ϵ l ν $\alpha\iota$ συγχωρείν τισιν α μή προσήκει πράττειν, έξ ων καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἀδοξίας ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοῖς συμβαίνειν, άλλὰ τό τε τὰ ἀμείνω αὐτοὺς διδάσκειν καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἀπείργειν καὶ νου-3 θετούντα καὶ σωφρονίζοντα. γνώσεσθε δὲ ὅτι τάληθη λέγω, αν μήτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ήδὺ τὸ συμφέρον κρίνητε μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ἀφέλιμον, μήτε τὸ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκπιμπλάναι γενναίον μαλλον ή το κρατείν αυτών νομίσητε είναι. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμά τι ἡσθέντας ὕστερον μεταγνώναι, δείνον δε το τών πολεμίων κρατούντας ήδονῶν τινων ήττᾶσθαι.

" Πρὸς οὖν τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια άφθόνως έχοντες (λέξω γάρ μετά παρρησίας, μηδεν υποστειλάμενος τήν τε γαρ μισθοφοραν έντελή καὶ κατά καιρὸν λαμβάνετε, καὶ τής τροφης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλης ἐμπίμπλασθε) καὶ μήτε πόνον τινὰ ἄδοξον μήτε κίνδυνον ἀνωφελῆ ύπομένοντες, καὶ προσέτι της μὲν ἀνδραγαθίας πολλά καὶ μεγάλα γέρα καρπούμενοι, τῶν δ' άμαρτημάτων σμικρου ή οὐδεν ε επιτιμώμενοι, 2 οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε), άλλα πρός ἐκείνους μόνους οίτινες τη ξαυτών πλεονεξία και τους άλλους διαβάλλουσιν. υμείς μέν γάρ οί πολλοί καὶ πάνυ άκριβώς καὶ καλώς

28

¹ εὐθενεῖν Dind., εὐθηνεῖν Rk., εὐθύνειν L. 2 h oùbèv Rk., oùbè L.

errors. I am fond of you and could wish, as BC. 40 a father might for his children, that you may be safe, be prosperous, and have a good reputation. For do not suppose it is the duty of one who loves to acquiesce in things which ought not to be done and for which it is quite inevitable that dangers and ill-repute should fall to the lot of those who do them, but rather to teach them the better way and keep them from the worse, both by admonishing and by correcting them. You will recognize that I speak the truth, if you will not estimate advantage with reference to the pleasure of the moment but rather with reference to what is permanently beneficial, and if you will avoid thinking that gratifying your desires is more noble than restraining them. For it is disgraceful to take a momentary gratification of which you must later repent, and it is absurd after conquering the enemy to be overcome vourselves by pleasures.

"Why now do I say this? Because although you have provisions in abundance,—I am going to speak frankly and without disguise: you get your pay in full and in season and you are always and everywhere supplied with food in plenty,—and although you endure no inglorious toil nor useless danger, and furthermore reap many great rewards for your bravery and are rebuked little, if at all, for your errors, yet you do not see fit to be satisfied with these things. I say this, now, not to all of you, for you are not all like this, but only to those who by their own greed are casting reproach on the rest. Most of you obey my orders very scrupulously

τοίς τε παραγγέλμασι τοίς ἐμοίς πείθεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις ¹ ἐμμένετε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χώραν τοσαύτην καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν έκτήσασθε ολίγοι δε δή τινες πολλην αισχύνην 3 καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἄπασιν ἡμιν προστρίβονται. καίτοι έγωγε πρότερον σαφως επιστάμενος τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας (οὐδὲν γάρ μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀμελές έστιν) οὐ προσεποιούμην είδέναι, νομίζων ἀμείνους σφας εκ του λαθείν αν δοκείν ε άμαρτόντας τινὰ γενήσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πλεονάσαντάς ποτε καὶ 4 έφ' οξς συνεγνώσθησαν κολασθήναι επεὶ μέντοι αὐτοί τε ὡς καὶ ³ έξόν σφισι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ότι μη κατά πρώτας εὐθὺς ἐδικαιώθησαν, ὑπερθρασύνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μηδεν πλημμελούντας προσστασιάζειν επιχειρούσιν, αναγκαΐον έστί μοι θεραπείαν τέ τινα καί 29 ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι σύστημα ἀνθρώπων συμμείναι καὶ σωθ ήναι δύναται, αν μη το κακουργούν σωφρονίζηται γάρ τοι νοσήσαν ἃν μὴ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἴασιν λάβη, συγκάμνειν 4 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ὥσπερ ἐν 2 τοις σώμασι ποιεί εν δε δή ταις στρατιαις ήκιστα, διότι αὐτοί τε ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες τολμηρότεροι γίγνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προσδιαφθείρουσιν, ἀθυμοτέρους ποιούντες ώς οὐδεν ὄφελος έκ τοῦ δικαιοπραγείν έξουτας. παρ' οίς γὰρ ἂν τὸ θρασυνόμενον πλεονεκτῆ, παρὰ τούτοις ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐπιεικèς ἐλαττοῦσθαι· καὶ ἐν οῖς ἂν 5 ἀδικία ἀτιμώρητος ή, καὶ τὸ σωφρονοῦν ἀγέραστον γίγνεται.

πατρίοις Bs., πατρώιοις L.
 δοκεῖν Rk., δοκεῖ L.
 ός καὶ Rk., καὶ ἄς L.
 συγκάμνειν Reim., συγκάμνει L.
 ὰν added by St.

and satisfactorily and abide by your ancestral customs, B.C 49 and in that way have acquired so much land as well as wealth and glory; but some few are bringing much disgrace and dishonour upon all of us. And yet, though I understood clearly before this that they were that sort of persons,—for there is none of your concerns that I fail to notice,—still I pretended not to know it, thinking that they would reform if they believed they would not be observed in some of their evil deeds, through the fear that if ever they presumed too far they might be punished also for the deeds which had been pardoned them. Since, however, they themselves, assuming that they may do whatever they wish because they were not brought to book at the very outset, wax overbold, and are trying to make the rest of you, who are guilty of no irregularity, mutinous likewise, it becomes necessary for me to devote some care to them and to give them my attention. For no society of men whatever can preserve its unity and continue to exist, if the criminal element is not punished, since, if the diseased member does not receive proper treatment, it causes all the rest, even as in our physical bodies, to share in its affliction. And least of all in armies can discipline be relaxed, because when the wrong-doers have power they become more daring, and corrupt the excellent also by causing them to grow dejected and to believe that they will obtain no benefit from right behaviour. For wherever the insolent element has the advantage, there inevitably the decent element has the worst of it; and wherever wrong-doing is unpunished, there self-restraint also goes unrewarded.

3 τί μεν γαρ αν ύμεις αγαθον ποιείν φήσαιτε, εί μηδεν οὖτοι κακον δρῶσιν; πῶς δ' αν εἰκότως τιμασθαι ἐθελήσαιτε, αν μὴ τὴν δικαίαν οὖτοι τιμωρίαν ὑπόσχωσιν; ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε τοῦθ', ὅτι ἀν τὸ μέν των φόβων της δίκης έλευθερωθή, τὸ δὲ της έλπίδος τῶν ἄθλων στερηθή, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν 4 κακὰ δὲ μυρία ἀπεργάζεται; ὥστ' εἴπερ ἀρετὴν όντως ἀσκεῖτε, μισήσατε μὲν τούτους ὡς πολεμίους (οὐ γάρ που ³ φύσει τινὶ τὸ φίλιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διακέκριται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε τρόποις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι διορίζεται, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων πᾶν καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον οἰκειοῦται, πονηρῶν δὲ πᾶν καὶ τὸ 30 συγγενες άλλοτριοῦται), ἀπολογήσασθε 4 δε ὑπερ ύμῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοὺς πάντας κακώς ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν. πᾶς γάρ τις πυνθανόμενος τό τε πλήθος ήμῶν καὶ την όρμην, ές πάντας ημάς και τὰ τοις όλίγοις πλημμελούμενα ἀναφέρει, καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεξιῶν οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον 2 φερόμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀκούων όνομα μεν ήμας Ρωμαίων έχοντας, έργα δε Κελτων δρωντας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν όρων ὀδύραιτο την 'Ιταλίαν δμοίως τῆ Βρεττανία πορθουμένην; πῶς δ' οὐ δεινὸν τὰ μὲν τῶν Γαλατῶν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων μηκέθ' ήμας λυπείν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν Άλπεων ως τινας Ήπειρώτας ἢ Καρχηδονίους ἢ 3 Κίμβρους πορθείν; πως δ' ούκ αίσχρον σεμνύνεσθαι μεν ήμας και λέγειν ότι ήμεις πρώτοι 'Ρω-

¹ φήσαιτε Pflugk, φήσετε L.

 $^{^2}$ ἐθελήσαιτε Bk., ἐθελήσητε L. 3 που Pflugk, πω L.

⁴ ἀπολογήσασθε Ř. Steph, ἀπολογήσασθαι L.

⁵ ἀδικοῦμεν Pflugk, ἀδικῶμεν L. 6 ὀδύραιτο H. Steph., ἀδύρετο L.

What merit, indeed, could you claim, if these men Bit 40 are doing no wrong? And how could you reasonably desire to be honoured, if these men do not meet with their just punishment? Or are you not aware that if the one class is freed from the fear of retribution and the other is deprived of the hope of reward, no good is accomplished, but only countless ills? Hence, if you really are cultivating excellence. you should detest these men as enemies. For it is not by any characteristic of birth that what is friendly as distinguished from what is hostile, but it is determined by men's habits and actions, which, if they are good, can make that which is alien like unto itself, but if bad, can alienate everything, even that which is akin. And you should speak in your own defence, because by the behaviour of these few we must all gain a bad name, even if we have done no wrong. For every one who learns of our numbers and impetuosity refers the errors of the few to us all; and thus, though we do not share in their gains. we bear an equal share of the reproach. Who would not be indignant at hearing that while we have the name of Romans we do the deeds of Germans?1 Who would not lament the sight of Italy ravaged like Britain? Is it not outrageous that we are no longer harrying the possessions of the Gauls whom we have subdued, but are devastating the lands south of the Alps, as if we were hordes of Epirots or Carthaginians or Cimbri? Is it not disgraceful for us to give ourselves airs and say that we were the first

¹ See note on xxxviii. 34

μαίων καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ἀκεανὸν έπλεύσαμεν, την δε οίκείαν άπαθη κακών άπο τών πολεμίων οδσαν διαρπάσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπαίνου μέμψιν, αντί δὲ τιμής ατιμίαν, αντί δὲ κερδών

ζημίας, άντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν;

" Μη γάρ τοι νομίσητε μήθ', ὅτι στρατεύεσθε, 31 κρείττους παρά τοῦτο τῶν οἴκοι πολιτῶν εἶναι. 'Ρωμαῖοι γάρ ἐστε ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν καὶ έκείνοι καὶ έστρατεύσαντο καὶ στρατεύσονται μήθ', ὅτι ὅπλα ἔχετε, ἐξεῖναι ὑμῖν κακουργεῖν οἵ τε γάρ νόμοι κυριώτεροι ύμῶν είσιν, καὶ πάντως 2 ποτέ καὶ ταῦτα καταθήσεσθε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει θαρσείτε πολύ γαρ πλείους ύμων οί άδικούμενοι, άν γε καὶ συστραφωσιν, εἰσί. συστραφήσονται δέ, αν 1 τοιαῦτα ποιῆτε. 2 μηδ' ὅτι τούς βαρβάρους ενικήσατε, και τούτων καταφρονείτε ων οὐδεν οὔτε κατά γένος οὔτε³ κατά παιδείαν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, 3 διαφέρετε άλλ' ώσπερ που καὶ προσήκον καὶ συμφέρον έστιν ύμιν, μήτε βιάζεσθέ τινα αὐτῶν μήτ' \dot{a} δικεῖτε, \dot{a} \dot{a} λλ \dot{a} τ \dot{a} τε \dot{b} \dot{e} πιτήδεια παρ' έκουσίων σφων λαμβάνετε και τὰ γέρα παρ'

εκόντων προσδέχεσθε. "Πρὸς γὰρ δή τοῖς εἰρημένοις, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις 32 όσα ἄν τις μηκύνων περί των τοιούτων διεξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ ὑμᾶς προσλογίζεσθαι,6 ότι νθν ήμεις ενταθθ' ήκομεν ίνα τη τε πατρίδι άδικουμένη βοηθήσωμεν καὶ τούς κακουργούντας

¹ àv R. Steph., êàv L. 2 ποιητε R. Steph., ποιείτε L.

α ότε κατὰ γένος ούτε Βε., κατὰ γένος οὕτε L.
ἀδικεῖτε R. Steph., ἀδικῆτε L.
αδικεῖτε L.

⁶ προσλογίζεσθαι R. Steph., προλογίζεσθαι L.

of the Romans to cross the Rhine and to sail the 2.0. 49 ocean, and then to plunder our native land, which is safe from harm at the hands of our foes, and to receive blame instead of praise, dishonour in place of honour, loss instead of gain, punishment instead of prizes?

"Do not think, now, that, because you are soldiers, that makes you better than the citizens at home; for you and they alike are Romans, and they, as well as you, both have been and will be soldiers. Nor think, again, that because you have arms, it is permitted you to injure others; for the laws have more authority than you, and some day you will certainly lay down these weapons. Do not rely on your numbers, either: for the injured are, if they but unite, far more numerous than you. And they will unite, if you go on doing such deeds. Do not, because you have conquered the barbarians, despise the citizens also, over whom you have not the slightest superiority either in birth or in education, in training or in customs. Instead, as is proper and advantageous for vou, do no violence or wrong to any of them, but receive your provisions from them of their own free will and accept your rewards from their willing hands

"In addition to what I have just said and other considerations that might be mentioned if one chose to enlarge upon such matters, you must also bear in mind the fact that we have now come here to assist our outraged country and to defend her

αὐτὴν ἀμυνώμεθα, ἐπεὶ εἴγε ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἢν, 2 οὖτ' ἀν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἤλθομεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν1) οὔτ' ἂν τά τε τῶν Κελτῶν και τὰ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀτέλεστα κατελίπομεν, δυνηθέντες αν και εκείνα προσκατεργάσασθαι.2 3 οὐκοῦν πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπὶ τῆ τῶν ἀδικούντων τιμωρία παρόντας ήμας μηδεν ήττον έκείνων πλεονεκτούντας φανήναι; πώς δ' σχέτλιον πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἀφιγμένους συμμάχων αὐτὴν ἐτέρων ἀναγκάσαι καθ' 4 ήμων δεηθήναι; καίτοι έγωγε τοσούτον περιείναι τοις δικαιώμασι του Πομπηίου νομίζω ώστε καί ές δίκην πολλάκις αὐτὸν προκαλέσασθαι, καὶ έπειδή γε μη ήθέλησεν είρηνικώς ύπο τοῦ συνείδότος διακριθήναι, πάντα μεν τον δήμον πάντας δε τούς συμμάχους έλπίσαι διὰ τοῦτο προσθήσεσθαι. 5 άλλὰ νῦν, ἄν νε καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιῶμεν, οὕτ' αὐτὸς ἐπιτήδειόν τι έξω προίσχεσθαι οὖτε ἐκείνοις ανεπιεικές 3 εγκαλέσαι. δεί δε δή και του δικαίου πασαν ήμας πρόνοιαν ποιείσθαι μετά μέν γάρ τούτου καὶ ή παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχὺς εὔελπίς έστιν, άνευ δ' έκείνου βέβαιον οὐδέν, κᾶν παραυτίκα τις κατορθώση τι, έχει.

33 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτω πέφυκε, καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείους ἐπίστανται· πάντα γοῦν τὰ προσήκοντα ἀπαράκλητοι⁴ πράττετε. ὅθεν που καὶ ἐγὼ συνεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπόπτας τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ τῶν ħραττομένων ποιήσω-

¹ έξεστιν Χyl., έτ' έστιν L

² προσκατεργάσασθαι R. Steph., προσκατεργάσεσθαι L.

³ ἀνεπιεικès Rk., αν ἐπιεικès L.

⁴ άπαράκλητοι R' Steph , άπαράβλητοι L

^{&#}x27; τῶν supplied by Bk.

against her oppressors. For, of course, if she were B.C 49 in no danger, we should neither have come into Italy under arms, since this is unlawful, nor should we have left unfinished our business with the Germans and the Britons, when we might have subjugated those regions also. Would it not be absurd, then, if we who are here for vengeance upon the wrong-doers should show ourselves no less greedy of gain than they? Would it not be outrageous if we who have arrived to aid our country should force her to require other allies against us? And yet I think my claims so much better justified than Pompey's that I have often challenged him to a judicial trial; and since he by reason of his guilty conscience has refused to have the matter decided peaceably, I hope by this act of his to attach the whole people and all the allies to my cause But now, if we are going to act in this manner. I shall not have any decent excuse to offer nor be able to charge my opponents with any unbecoming conduct. We must also pay all heed to the justice of our cause; for with this the strength afforded by arms is full of hope, but without it that strength, even though for the moment it wins a success, has nothing enduring about it.

"That this is true in the nature of things most of you understand; at any rate you fulfil all your duties without urging. That is precisely why I have called you together, to make you witnesses as well as

2 μαι. άλλ' ύμεις μέν 1 οὐ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε, καὶ διὰ ταθτα καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθε· ὀλίγοι δὲ δή τινες ὁρᾶτε όπως, πρὸς τῷ πολλὰ κεκακουργηκέναι καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν δίκην δεδωκέναι, καὶ προσεπαπειλοῦσιν ήμῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ οὕτ' ἄλλως καλον είναι νομίζω ἄρχοντά τινα τῶν ἀρχομένων 3 ήττασθαι, οὐτ' αν σωτήριον τι γενέσθαι ποτέ, εί τὸ ταχθεν υπηρετείν τινι κρατείν αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήσειεν. σκέψασθε δέ, ποῖος μὲν ἂν ² κόσμος οικίας γένοιτο, αν οί εν τη ηλικία όντες των πρεσβυτέρων καταφρονήσωσι, ποίος δὲ διδασκαλείων, αν οί φοιτώντες των παιδευτών αμελήσωσι: τίς ὑγίεια νοσοῦσιν, ἀν μὴ πάντα τοῖς ἰατροῖς οί κάμνοντες πειθαρχῶσι, τίς δὲ ἀσφάλεια ναυτιλλομένοις, αν οί ναθται των κυβερνητων άνηκου-4 στῶσι; φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαία τινὶ καὶ σωτηρία ³ τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται, καὶ ἀδύνατον ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν καὶ ότιοθν καλ εφ' όποσονοθν διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντί τινος ἐκφροντίζειν τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν, τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ πειθαρχείν τε ἀπροφασίστως καὶ ἐκπονείν τὸ 5 κελευόμενον έξ οδ καὶ μάλιστα τό τε έμφρον τοῦ άφρονος καὶ τὸ ἐπιστημον τοῦ ἀνεπιστήμονος ἐν παντί προτετίμηται.

34 "Οὕτω δὴ οὖν τούτων ἐχόντων οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὕτε συγχωρήσαιμί τι τούτοις τοῖς θορυβήσασιν 2 ἀναγκασθεὶς οὕτ' ὰν ἐπιτρέψαιμι βιασθείς. ἢ τί μὲν ἀπό τε τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούλου

¹ μέν supplied by Bk.

² av supplied by Bk.

³ ἀναγκαΐα τιν) και σωτηρία Rk., ἀναγκαῖά τιια και σωτήρια L.

spectators of my words and deeds. But you are not BC 49 the sort of men I have been mentioning, and it is for this very reason that you receive praise; yet you observe how some few of you, in addition to having worked many injuries without suffering any penalty at all for them, are also threatening us. Now I do not believe it a good thing in any case for a ruler to be overridden by his subjects, nor do I believe there could ever be any safety if those appointed to obey a person attempted to get the better of him. Consider what sort of order would exist in a household if the young should despise their elders, or what order in schools if the scholars should pay no heed to their instructors! What health would there be for the sick if the afflicted should not obey their physicians in all points, or what safety for voyagers if the sailors should turn a deaf ear to their captains? Indeed, it is in accordance with a natural law, both necessary and salutary, that the principles of ruling and of being ruled have been placed among men, and without them it is impossible for anything at all to continue to exist for even the shortest time. Now it is the duty of the one stationed over another both to discover and to command what is requisite, and it is the duty of the one subject to authority to obey without questioning and to carry out his orders. is for this reason in particular that prudence is everywhere honoured above folly and understanding above ignorance.

"Since these things are so, I will never yield aught to these brawlers under compulsion nor give them a free rein perforce. Why am I sprung from Aeneas and Iulus, why have I been practor, why

γέγονα, τί δὲ ἐστρατήγησα, τί ὑπάτευσα, ἐπὶ τί δε ύμας τους μεν οἴκοθεν εξήγαγον τους δ' ὕστερον προσκατέλεξα, έπι τί τοσούτον ήδη χρόνον την 3 έξουσίαν την άνθύπατον έχω λαβών, άν δουλεύσω τινὶ ὑμῶν καὶ νικηθῶ τινος ὑμῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῆ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, δἰ οδ 1 καὶ Γαλάτας έχειρώσασθε καὶ Βρεττανῶν 4 ἐκρατήσατε; τί δείσας καὶ τί φοβηθείς; μή μέ τις ύμων ἀποκτείνη; ἀλλ' εἰ μέν πάντες ταθτ' έφρονείτε, έκων αν άποθανείν είλόμην ή τό τε άξίωμα της ήγεμονίας καταλύσαι καὶ τὸ Φρόνημα 5 τὸ τῆ προστατεία προσήκου ἀπολέσαι πολύ γάρ που πλείω πόλει κινδυνεύεται τοῦ ἔνα ἄνδρα ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν ἐθισθῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς τε στρατηγοίς σφων προστάττειν τινά καὶ τὰ δίκαια 35 τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ποιεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπηπείληκέ τις αὐτῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ παραχρημα εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσφακτο), τὴν δὲ δὴ στρατείαν ὡς κεκμηκότες εξίστανται καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ὡς καὶ πεπονημένοι κατατίθενται, καὶ πάντως, ἄν γε μη παρ' έκόντος μου τούτου τύχωσι, καὶ την τάξιν ἐκλείψουσι 2 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον μεταστήσονται άπερ που καὶ ταραδηλοῦσί 2 τινες, καὶ τίς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε τοιούτων άνθρώπων στερηθήναι, τίς δ' οὐκ αν ευξαιτο τοιούτους ἐκείνω στρατιώτας ὑπάρξαι, οἶτινες μήτε τοις διδομένοις άρκοῦνται μήτε τοις προσταττομένοις πείθονται, άλλ' εν ήλικία γήρας

¹ οδ "N" in Reimar's ed., ὧν L ² ἐκλείψουσι R. Steph., ἐκλείψωσι L. ³ καὶ added by R. Steph.

consul, for what end have I brought some of you out B.C. 49 from home and levied others of you later, for what end have I received and held the proconsular power now for so long a time, if I am to be a slave to some one of you and to be worsted by some one of you here in Italy, close to Rome, I, to whom you owe your subjugation of the Gauls and your conquest of Britain? In fear or dread of what should I do so? That some one of you will kill me? Nay, but if you all were of this mind, I would voluntarily choose to die rather than destroy the dignity of my position as commander or lose the self-respect befitting my leadership. For a far greater danger than the unjust death of one man confronts the city, if the soldiers are to become accustomed to issue orders to their generals and to take the prerogatives of the law into their own hands. No one of them, however, has so much as made this threat; if any had, I am sure he would have been slain forthwith by the rest of you. But they are for withdrawing from the campaign on the pretence of being wearied, and are for laying down their arms on the pretence of being worn out: and certainly, if they do not obtain my consent to this wish of theirs, they will leave the ranks and go over to Pompey, a fact which some of them make perfectly evident. And yet who would not be glad to be rid of such men, and who would not pray that such soldiers might belong to Pompey, seeing that they are not content with what is given them and are not obedient to orders, but simulating old age in the midst of youth and in strength

καὶ ἐν ἰσχύι ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενοι δεσπόζειν τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τυραννεῖν τῶν ἡγουμένων 3 σφῶν ἀξιοῦσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ μυριάκις ἂν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὁπωσδήποτε καταλλαγῆναι καὶ ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ἑλοίμην ἤ τι ἀνάξιον τοῦ τε πατρίου φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέ-4 σεως πρᾶξαι. ἢ ἱ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι οὔτε δυναστείας οὔτε πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμῶ, οὐδέ μοι πρόκειται πάντως τι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καταπρᾶξαι, ὥστε τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ θωπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεῦσαί τινας; παύσασθε μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς στρατείας, ὧ τί ἂν ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαιμι; οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ βούλεσθε καὶ φατέ, ἀλλὶ ὡς τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμοὶ συμφέρει."

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θρασυτάτους (οὖτοι γὰρ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἔλαχον) ἐδικαίωσε,² τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς οὐδέν

σφων δεόμενος διηκε.

Καὶ ἐκείνοι μὲν μετανοήσαντες ἐφ' οἶς ἔπραξαν 36 ἀναστρατεύεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐν όδῷ δὲ ἔτ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Μᾶρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος, οὖτος ὁ καὶ ἐν τἢ τριαρχίᾳ δυτερον γενόμενος, τῷ τε δήμω συνεβούλευσε στρατηγῶν δικτατορα τὸν Καίσαρα προχειρίσασθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ 2 πάτρια. καὶ δς ὑπέστη μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φοβερὸν οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῆ ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε ἐκπεπτωκόσι κάθοδον πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος ἔδωκε, καὶ τὰς ⁴ ἐς νέωτα ἀρχὰς ἀπέδειξεν (ἐς γὰρ τὸ παρὸν τότε οὐδένα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπόντων

simulating weakness, they claim the night to lord B.C 40 it over their rulers and to tyrannize over their leaders? Why, I had a thousand times rather be reconciled with Pompey on any terms whatever or suffer any other conceivable fate than do anything unworthy of the proud traditions of my fathers, or of my own principles. Or are you not aware that it is not sovereignty or gain that I desire, and that I am not so bent upon accomplishing any thing by every means at whatever cost and that I would lie and flatter and fawn upon people to this end? Give up your service, therefore, you—O what can I call you? Yet still it shall be, not as you yourselves desire and say, but as is profitable for the republic and for myself."

After this speech he distributed lots among them for the infliction of the death penalty, and executed the most audacious; for these, as he had arranged should be the case, drew the lots. The rest he dismissed, saying he had no further need of them.

So they repented of what they had done and were ready to renew the campaign. While he was still on the way Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the man who later became a member of the triumvirate, advised the people in his capacity of praetor to elect Caesar dictator, and immediately named him, contrary to ancestral custom. The latter accepted the office as soon as he entered the city, but committed no act of terror while holding it. On the contrary, he granted a return to all the exiles except Milo, and filled the offices for the ensuing year; for up to that time they had chosen no one temporarily in place of

3 ἀνθείλοντο· καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀγορανόμου ἐπιδημοῦντος οἱ δήμαρχοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς διήγαγον), ἱερέας τε ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀντικατέστησεν, οὐ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῷ νενομισμένα τηρήσας, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν "Αλπεων ὑπὲρ τὸν 'Ηριδανὸν οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἄτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, 4 ἀπέδωκε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δικτατορίας ἀπεῖπε· τὴν γὰρ δὴ δύναμιν τό τε ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ πάνυ ἀεὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔσχε. τῆ τε γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχύι ἐχρῆτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔννομον δή τινα παρὰ τῆς ἐκεῖ βουλῆς προσέλαβε· πάντα γὰρ μετὰ ἀδείας

όσα αν βουληθή πράττειν οι ἐπετράπη.
Τυχων δὲ τούτου μέγα εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμα διώρθωσεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἴ τε δεδανεικότες τισὶ πικροτάτας τὰς ἐσπράξεις, ἄτε καὶ πολλῶν χρημίτων διά τε τὰς στάσεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους προσδεόμενοι, ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων συχνοὶ οὐδέ ἐθέλοντες ἀποδοῦναί 2 τι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο (οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδό-

2 τι υπό των αυτων έδυναντο (ουτε γάρ άποδοσαι τι ουτε ἐπιδανείσασθαι ράδιον αυτοις ἐγίγνετο), κάκ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν ἄπιστα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δολερὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπραττον, καὶ δέος ἢν μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστόν τι κακὸν προχωρήσωσιν, ἐμετριάσθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς δημάρχους τικών τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους ἐπεὶ δὲ

σωσιν, ἐμετριάσθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς 3 δημάρχων τινῶν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδ' ὡς ἀπεδίδοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐνεχύρων ἐξίσταντο οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐν ἀργυρίω ἀπήτουν, ἀμφοτέροις τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς οἶόν τε ἢν ἐπεκούρησε· τά τε γὰρ ἐνέχυρα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν

the absentees, and since there was no aedile in the BC 49 city, the tribunes were performing all the duties devolving upon those officials. Moreover he appointed priests in place of those who had perished, though he did not observe all the ceremonies that were customary in their case at such a juncture; and to the Gauls living south of the Alps and beyond the Po he gave citizenship because he had once governed them. After accomplishing these things he resigned the title of dictator, since he had quite all the authority and functions of the position constantly in his grasp. For he exercised the power afforded by arms, and also received in addition a quasi-legal authority from the senate that was on the spot, in that he was granted permission to do with impunity whatever he might wish.

Having obtained this, he at once instituted an important and necessary reform. Those who had lent money, it seems, being now in need of large sums because of the civil strife and the wars, were collecting their loans most relentlessly, and many of the debtors for the same reasons were unable to pay back anything, even if they wished to do so, since they did not find it easy to sell anything or to borrow more. Hence their dealings with each other were marked by much deceit and fraud, and there was fear that they might go to the point of accomplishing some fatal mischief. To be sure, the rate of interest had been lowered even before this time by some of the tribunes; but since payment was not secured even thus, but instead the one class was ready to forfeit its securities, while the other demanded back its principal in cash, Caesar now came to the aid of both so far as he could. He ordered that

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έναποτιμηθήναι έκέλευσε, καὶ δικαστὰς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσί τι ἀποκληροῦσθαι προσέ-38 ταξεν. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ πολλά τε χρήματα! έχειν καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκρύπτειν έλέγοντο, άπηγόρευσε μηδένα πλείον πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων δραχμῶν ἐν ἀργυρίω ἢ καὶ χρυσίω κεκτῆσθαι, οὐχ ως καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τοῦτον 2 τιθείς, ἀλλ' ως καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἐσενεχθέντα άνανεούμενος, εἴτ' οὖν ἵνα τοῖς τε δανεισταῖς οι οφείλοντές τι έκτίνωσι και τοις δεομένοις οί άλλοι δανείζωσιν, είτε καὶ ὅπως εύπορούντες ἔκδηλοι γένωνται καὶ μηδείς αὐτῶν ἀθρόα ἔχη, μὴ καὶ ἀπόντος 3 νεωτερισθή. ἐπαρθέντος δὲ ἐπὶ πλήθους, καὶ άξιοῦντος καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις μήνυτρα έπ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν προτεθῆναι,2 οὖτε προσέγραψεν αὐτὸ τῷ νόμω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ έξωλειαν έαυτώ προσεπηράσατο, άν ποτέ δούλω κατά τοῦ δεσπότου εἰπόντι πιστεύση.

39 Καίσαρ μεν δη ταῦτά τε πράξας καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πάντα, ἀνελόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπ' ἐξόδω τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς ἢν ἐκεχειροτόνητο ἐσελθεῖν, ἐξώρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦντος ἴκτινος ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾶ κλωνίον δάφνης ἐνὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων οἱ ἐπέρριψε' καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆ Τύχη θύοντος ὁ ταῦρος ἐκφυγὼν πρὶν τιτρώσκεσθαι, ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς λίμνην τινὰ 3 ἐλθὼν διενήξατο αὐτήν. κἀκ τούτων ἐπὶ πλέον

¹ τε χρήματα Rk., χρήματά τε L. 2 προτεθήναι H. Steph., προτεθείναι L.

securities should have a fixed valuation according to B.C. 49 their worth, and he provided that arbiters for this purpose should be allotted to persons involved in such a dispute. Since also many were said to possess much wealth but to be concealing it all, he forbade any one to possess more than sixty thousand sesterces in silver or gold; and he claimed he was not enacting this law himself, but was simply renewing a measure introduced on some previous occasion. His object was either that those who were owing money should pay back a part of their debt to the lenders and the latter should lend to such as needed, or else that the well-to-do might become known and none of them should keep his wealth all together, for fear some rebellion might be set afoot during his absence. When the populace, elated at this, demanded also that rewards should be offered to slaves for information against their masters, he refused to add such a clause to the law, and furthermore invoked dire destruction upon himself if he should ever trust a slave when speaking against his master.

After accomplishing this and removing all the offerings in the Capitol, as well as the others, Caesar hastened to Brundisium toward the close of the year, before entering upon the consulship to which he had been elected. And as he was attending to the details of his departure, a kite in the Forum let fall a sprig of laurel upon one of his companions. Later, while he was sacrificing to Fortune, the bull escaped before being wounded, rushed out of the city, and coming to a certain lake, swam across it. Consequently he took greater courage and hastened his

preparations, especially as the soothsayers declared n.c. 40 that destruction should be his portion if he remained at home, but safety and victory if he crossed the sea. After his departure the boys in the city divided of their own accord into two groups, one side calling themselves Pompeians and the other Caesarians, and, fighting with each other in some fashion or other without arms, those conquered who used Caesar's name.

While these events were occurring in Rome and in Spain, Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius Libo, with the aid of Pompey's fleet drove out of Dalmatia Publius Cornelius Dolabella, who was there attending to Caesar's interests. After this they shut up Gaius Antonius, who had been desirous of aiding him, on a small island, and there, after he had been abandoned by the natives and was oppressed by hunger, they captured him with all his troops save a few; for some had escaped in season to the mainland, and others, who were sailing across on rafts and were overtaken, made away with themselves.

Curio had meanwhile reduced Sicily without a battle, since Cato, the governor of the island, being no match for him and not wishing to expose the cities to danger needlessly, had already withdrawn to join Pompey; later, however, he crossed over to Africa and there perished. Upon Curio's approach Lucius

γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὁ Λούκιος τὴν ᾿Ασπίδα τὴν πόλιν, έν ή κατα τύχην ἄλλως ήν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίπλουν αύτου εξέλιπε, και Πούπλιος "Αττιος Ουαρος δ τὰ 1 ἐκεῖ πράγματα τότε ἔχων καὶ στρατιώτας συχνούς καὶ πλοῖα συχνὰ ² ἡττηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 3 ἀπέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰόβας Ἰεμψοῦ τε παῖς ων και των Νομάδων βασιλεύων, τά τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ώς καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς προτιμών, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα διά τε τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι τήν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ δημαρχῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν 3 χώραν δημοσιῶσαι ἐπεχείρησε, μισῶν, 4 ίσχυρῶς αὐτῷ προσεπολέμησεν. οἴκαδε μὲν γὰρ ές την Νουμιδίαν οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, πολιορκοῦντι δέ οἱ Οὐτικὴν παντὶ μὲν ἄμα τῷ στρατῷ οὐ προσέμιζε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ προπυθόμενος εξαναχθείη (οὐ γάρ που 4 ἀπώσασθαι αὐτὸν μᾶλλόν τι ἢ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει), 5 ολίγους δέ τινας προπέμψας, καὶ προφημίσας ώς αὐτὸς ἄλλοσέ ποι καὶ πόρρω γε ἀπεληλυθώς είη, εφέσπετό τε σφισι καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν ὧν 42 ήλπισεν. ό γαρ Κουρίων πρότερον μέν, ώς καὶ αύτοῦ ἐκείνου προσιόντος, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῆ θαλάσση ὂν μετέστη, καὶ γνώμην ἐποιείτο τὧν τε νεων, ὰν βιάζηται, ἐπιβῆναι καὶ 2 την Αφρικήν παντελώς έκλιπείν έπει δε όλίγους τέ τινας καὶ τούτους ἄνευ τοῦ Ἰόβου ἀφικνεῖσθαι έπύθετο, έθάρσησε, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ έφ' ετοιμον νίκην, μη και διαφύγωσιν αὐτόν, άρας έπορεύετο, καί τινας των προδρόμων καθεύδοντας

¹ δτὰ Leuncl., ὅτι L.

 ² πλοῖα συχνὰ Jacoby, πόλεις καὶ L.
 3 τὴν Rk., τήν τε L.
 4 που Bk., πω L.

Caesar abandoned the city of Aspis 1 where he hap- BC. 49 pened to be by mere chance, and Publius Attius Varus, then in charge of the affairs of that region, was defeated by him and lost many troops and many ships. Juba, however, the son of Hiempsal and king of the Numidians, preferred the cause of Pompey as that of the people and the senate, and hated Curio both on this account and because the latter when tribune had attempted to take away his kingdom from him and to confiscate the land; accordingly he carried on a vigorous war against him. For he did not wait for him to invade his home country of Numidia, but went to meet him while he was besieging Utica. He did not attack him, however, with his whole army, since he feared that Curio might put to sea if he learned in advance of his approach; for he was evidently not so eager to repulse him as to take vengeance on him. Instead, he sent forward a few men and spread the report that he himself had gone far away in another direction: then he followed after this force and did not fail of the results he had hoped for. For, though Curio, under the impression that his enemy was approaching, had previously transferred his men to the camp near the sea and had formed the plan, in case he were hard pressed, of embarking on the ships and leaving Africa altogether, he now, when he ascertained that only a few men were coming, and these without Juba, took courage and set out on the march that very night as if to a victory lying ready to hand, fearing that they might otherwise escape him; and after destroying some of the enemy's vanguard who were sleeping

¹ The Roman Clupea, situated on the coast east of Carthage

έν τη όδφ φθείρας πολύ προθυμότερος έγένετο. 3 κάκ τούτου τοίς λοιποίς ύπὸ τὴν ἕω προκεγωρηκόσιν έκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου έντυχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνα-Βολην εποιήσατο, άλλα καίτοι των στρατιωτών καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τεταλαιπωρημένων ές χειράς σφισι παραχρήμα 4 ηλθε. κάν τούτφ έστώτων τε αύτῶν καὶ ἀντιρρόπως αγωνιζομένων, ο Ἰόβας αἰφνιδίως οἱ ἐπιφανείς τῷ τε ἀδοκήτω ἄμα αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ πλήθει κατειργάσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τους πλείστους αὐτοῦ ταύτη άπέκτεινεν, τους δε 2 λοιπούς μέχρι τε της ταφρείας επεδίωξε καὶ 5 μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς καθεῖρξε, κἀν ³ τῷ ταράχω τούτω πολλών μεν χρημάτων εκράτησε πολλούς δὲ ἄνδρας ἔφθειρε. συχνοί δὲ δὴ καὶ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῆ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα έσβάσει ύπὸ τοῦ ώθισμοῦ σφαλέντες, οί δὲ καὶ έν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάφεσιν ύπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτῶν 6 βαπτισθέντες. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων, φοβηθέντες τινές μη τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς πάθωσι, προσεχώρησαν μεν τῷ Οὐάρω ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενοι, εΰροντο δ' οὐδεν ἐπιεικές ὁ γὰρ Ἰόβας προισχόμενος ὅτι αὐτός σφας ἐνενικήκει, καὶ ἐκείνους πλην ὀλίγων ἐφόνευσεν. Κουρίων μὲν δὴ πλεῖστά τε τῷ Καίσαρι συναράμενος καὶ πάμπολλα αὐτὸν⁴ 7 ἐπελπίσας οὕτως ἀπώλετο Ἰόβας δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῆ Μακεδονία βουλευτών τιμάς τε εξρετο καλ βασιλεύς προσηγορεύθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν τε ἐν τῆ

4 αὐτὸν Bk., ἐπ' αὐτὸν L.

αὐτοῦ ταύτη R. Steph., αὐτῆι ταύτηι L.
 δè Pflugk, τε L.
 κὰν Reim., καl L.

on the road he became much more emboldened. B.G. 49 Then, about dawn, he encountered the rest who had gone on ahead from the camp; and without any delay, in spite of the fact that his soldiers were exhausted both by the march and by want of sleep, he at once joined battle with them. Thereupon, when the others stood their ground and were holding their own, Juba suddenly appeared and by the unexpectedness of his arrival as well as by his numbers overwhelmed him. Curio and most of the others he killed on the spot, and the rest he pursued up to their entrenchments, later confining them to the ships; and in the midst of this rout he got possession of large amounts of treasure and destroyed many men. Indeed, many of them perished after escaping his grasp, some losing their footing while boarding the ships because of the crowding, and others going down with the vessels themselves when these became overloaded. While this was occurring still others, out of fear that they might suffer the same fate, went over to Varus, expecting that their lives would be spared; but they received no considerate treatment. For Juba asserted that it was he who had conquered them, and so slew nearly all of these, too. Curio died after rendering most valuable assistance to Caesar and inspiring in him many hopes. And Juba received honours at the hands of Pompey and the senators who were in Macedonia, and was saluted as king; but by Caesar and those in the city he

πόλει αἰτίαν εἰχε καὶ πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, ὅ τε Βόκχος καὶ ὁ Βογούας βασιλης, ὅτι ἐχθροὶ

αὐτῷ 2 ἦσαν, ὼνομάσθησαν.3

Τω δε εχομένω έτει διττοί τε τοις 'Ρωμαίοις άρχοντες παρά τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐγένοντο καὶ μάχη μεγίστη δη συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ ὑπάτους τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Πούπλιον Σερουίλιον καὶ στρατηγούς τά τε ἄλλα τέλη 4 τὰ έκ τῶν νόμων ἥρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῆ Θεσσαλονίκη 2 τοιοῦτο μεν οὐδεν προπαρεσκευάσαντο, καίτοι της τε άλλης βουλης ές διακοσίους, ώς φασί τινες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καί τι καὶ χωρίον ἐς τὰ οἰωνίσματα, τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἐν νόμφ δή τινι αὐτὰ δοκείν γίγνεσθαι, δημοσιώσαντες, ώστε και τον δημον δι' αὐτῶν τήν τε πόλιν ἄπασαν ἐνταῦθα 3 είναι νομίζεσθαι (αίτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸν νόμον οί ύπατοι του φρατριατικου 5 ουκ έσενηνόχεσαν), τοίς δε δη αὐτοίς εκείνοις οἶσπερ 6 καὶ πρόσθεν έχρήσαντο, τὰς ἐπωνυμίας σφῶν μόνας μεταβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθυπάτους τοὺς δὲ άντιστρατήγους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιταμίας ὀνομάσαντες. 4 πάνυ γάρ που τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς ἔμελε τά τε δπλα ἀνταιρομένοις καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλελοιπόσιν, ώστε μὴ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπαίτησιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τετα-5 γμένων ἀκρίβειαν ποιείν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν όνόματι οδτοί σφισιν έκατέροις ἣρχον, έργφ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τῆς μὲν φήμης ἔνεκα τὰς

¹ βασιλης Bs., βασιλείς L ² αὐτῷ Pflugk, αὐτῶν L.

 ³ ήσαν ωνομάσθησαν Χyl., ανωμάσθησαν L.
 ⁴ τέλη supplied by Bs.
 ⁵ φρατριατικόν Reim., φρατρικόν L. 6 οΐσπερ Reim., τοΐσπερ L.

was called to account and declared an enemy, while B.C. 40 Bocchus and Bogud were named kings, because they were hostile to him.

The ensuing year the Romans had two sets of BC 48 magistrates, contrary to custom, and a mighty battle was fought. The people of the city had chosen as consuls Caesar and Publius Servilius, along with praetors and all the other officers required by law. Those in Thessalonica had made no such appointments, although they had by some accounts about two hundred of the senate and also the consuls with them and had appropriated a small piece of land for the auguries, in order that these might seem to take place under some form of law, so that they regarded the people and the whole city as present there. They had not appointed new magistrates for the reason that the consuls had not proposed the lex cuiata1; but instead they employed the same officials as before, merely changing their names and calling some proconsuls, others propraetors, and others proquaestors. For they were very careful about precedents, even though they had taken up arms against their country and abandoned it, and they were anxious that the acts rendered necessary by the exigencies of the situation should not all be in violation of the strict requirement of the ordinances. Nevertheless, these men mentioned were the magistrates of the two parties in name only, while in reality it was Pompey and Caesar who were supreme; for the sake of good repute they bore the legal titles of proconsul and

¹ The lex curvata de imperio, passed by the comitia curvata, formally conferred upon a consul or piaetor his authority. Though largely a matter of form at this time, the magistrate was nevertheless not felt to be fully in possession of the privileges of his office until this vote had been passed.

έννόμους ἐπικλήσεις,¹ ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, ἔχοντες, πράττοντες δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐκεῖναι ἐπέτρεπον ἀλλ' ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἤθελον.

Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων καὶ δίχα τῆς άρχης μεμερισμένης, Πομπήιος μέν δη έν τε τή Θεσσαλονίκη έχείμαζε καὶ φυλακήν οὐκ ἀκριβή τῶν παραθάλασσίων ἐποιεῖτο (οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν 'Ιταλίαν ἤδη τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ τῆς 'Ιβηρίας άφιχθαι ἐνόμιζε, εἴ τε καὶ παρείη, ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ χειμῶνι οὐχ ὑπώπτευσεν αὐτὸν τολμήσειν τὸν 2 Ἰόνιον διαβαλεῖν), Καῖσαρ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμένων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε πόρρω2 ουτα καὶ τὴν καταντιπέρας ἤπειρον ἀμελῶς τηρουμένην, τό τε καινον τοῦ πολέμου ήρπασε καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένω 3 αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο. μεσοῦντος γοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μέρει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῆρεν (οὐ γαρ ήσαν ίκαναι νήες ώστε πάντας άμα αὐτούς 3 περάσαι), καὶ λαθών τὸν Βίβουλον τὸν Μάρκον, ο ή θάλασσα φρουρείσθαι προσετέτακτο, έπεραιώθη πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τὰ Κεραύνια ἀνομασμένα. έστι δὲ ἔσχατα τής Ἡπείρου, πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν έκπυστος ὅτι καὶ πλευσεῖται γενέσθαι, τὰς νάῦς 4 ές τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔστειλε καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βίβουλος ἀνακομιζομένας ἐκάκωσε, καί τινας καὶ ἀνεδήσατο, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἔργω μαθείν ότι εὐτυχέστερον τὸν πλοῦν ἢ εὐβουλότερον έπεποίητο.

¹ τας εννόμους επικλήσεις Rk., της εννόμου και επικλήσεις L.

² τε πόρρω Pflugk, τε πόρρω τε L. 3 ἀνειμένο Rk., ἀνέμωι L.

consul respectively, yet their acts were not those BC.48 which these offices permitted, but whatever they themselves pleased.

Under these conditions, with the government divided in twain, Pompey was wintering in Thessalonica and not keeping a very careful watch upon the coast; for he did not suppose that Caesar had yet arrived in Italy from Spain, and even if he were there, he did not suspect that he would venture to cross the Ioman Gulf in the winter, at any rate. But Caesar was in Brundsium, waiting for spring, and when he ascertained that Pompey was some distance off and that the mainland opposite was rather carelessly guarded, he seized upon the "chance of war1" and attacked him while his attention was relaxed. At any late, when the winter was about half gone, he set out with a portion of his army, as there were not enough ships to carry them all across at once, and eluding Marcus Bibulus, to whom the guarding of the sea had been committed, he crossed to the Ceraunian Headlands, as they are called, the outermost point of Epirus, near the mouth of the Ionian Gulf. Arriving there before it became noised abroad that he would sail at all, he sent the ships to Brundisium for the others; but Bibulus damaged them on the return voyage and actually took some in tow, so that Caesar learned by experience that the voyage he had made was more fortunate than prudent.

¹ The expression $\tau \delta$ καινδν $\tau o \hat{v}$ πολέμου appears first in Thucydides (iii 30), and soon became proverbial; cf. Polybius xxix. 6, Diodorus xx. 30, 67, Chc. αd Att. v 20, 3. Dio uses it again in xlix 5, 1. It seems to be used generally in the favourable sense of "the (lucky) chance of war." The proverb ran πολλά τὰ καινὰ τοῦ πολέμου ("many are the surprises of war").

45 'Εν δ' οὖν τῆ διατριβή ταύτη τό τε 'Ωρικὸν1 καὶ τὴν ᾿Απολλωνίαν ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων έκλειφθέντα ύπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου φρουρῶν παρεστήσατο. ή δε 'Απολλωνία αύτη ή 2 Κορινθία έν καλώ μεν της γης έν καλώ δε και της 2 θαλάσσης ποταμών τε άριστα κείται. ὅ τε μάλιστα διὰ πάντων έθαύμασα, πῦρ πολύ πρὸς τῷ ᾿Αώφ ³ ποταμῷ ἀναδίδοται, καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ πλείου της πέριξ γης ἐπεξέρχεται, οὐτ' αὐτὴν έκείνην εν ή ενδιαιταται έκπυροί ή και κραυροτέραν πη ποιεί, άλλα καὶ πόας καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάνυ πλησία θάλλοντα έχει πρός τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις 3 των όμβρων ἐπαύξει καὶ ἐς ὕψος ἐξαίρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτό τε Νυμφαΐον ὀνομάζεται καὶ δὴ καὶ μαντείον τοιόνδε τι παρέχεται. λιβανωτὸν δη λαβών, και προσευξάμενος ο τι ποτε και 4 βούλει, ρίπτεις αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα. τούτφ τὸ πῦρ, ἂν μέν τι ἐπίτελὲς ἢ ⁴ ἐσόμενον, δέγεται αὐτὸν έτοιμότατα, κὰν ἄρα καὶ ἔξω που προπέση, προσδραμον ήρπασε και κατανάλωσεν αν δε ατέλεστον ή, ούτ άλλως αυτώ προσέρχεται, καν ές αὐτην την φλόγα φέρηται, έξαναχωρεί τε 5 καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταθθ' οὕτως ἐκάτερα περὶ πάντων δμοίως, πλην θανάτου τε καὶ γάμου, ποιεί περί γαρ τούτων οὐδε έξεστί τινι άρχην αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι τι.

46 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ βραδύνοντος τοῦ ἀντωνίου, ῷ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίω κομίσαι ἐπετέτακτο, καὶ οὐδὲ

 ¹ [°]Ωρικὸν R. Steph , νωρικὸν L.
 ² ἡ added by Bk.
 ³ [°]Αώφ Palmerius, following Casaubon, ἄνα L.

⁴ η Pflugk, είη L. 5 προπέση Rk., προσπέσηι L.

During this delay, then, he won over Oricum BC 48 and Apolloma and other points there which had been abandoned by Pompey's garrisons. This Corinthian Apollonia 1 is well situated as regards the land and as regards the sea, and most excellently in respect to rivers. What I have marvelled at. however, above all else, is that a huge fire issues from the ground near the Aous river and neither spreads to any extent over the surrounding land nor sets on fire even the place where it abides nor makes it at all dry, but has grass and trees flourishing very near it. In pouring rains it increases and towers aloft. For this reason it is called Nymphaeum,2 and in fact it furnishes an oracle, of this kind. You take incense and after making whatever prayer you wish cast it in the fire as the vehicle of the prayer. At this the fire, if your wish is to be fulfilled, receives it very readily, and even if the incense falls somewhere outside, darts forward, snatches it up, and consumes it. if the wish is not to be fulfilled, the fire not only does not go to it, but, even if it falls into the very flames, recedes and flees before it. It acts in these two ways in all matters save those of death and marriage; for concerning these two one may not make any inquiry of it at all. Such is the nature of this marvel.

Now as Antony, to whom had been assigned the duty of conveying across those who remained at Brundisium, continued to tarry, and no message even

¹ Cf. Frag. 42.

² I.e. "Temple of the Nymphs."

άγγελίας τινὸς περὶ αὐτῶν διά τε τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ διὰ τὸν Βίβουλον φοιτώσης, ὑπώπτευσέ σφας μεσεύειν τε καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς πράγμασιν, 2 οξά που εν ταις στάσεσι φιλει γίγνεσθαι. και διὰ τοῦτο βουληθεὶς αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος γε ές τὴν Ίταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπέβη μὲν ἀκατίου τινὸς ὡς τις άλλος, λέγων ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεπέμφθαι, καὶ τον κυβερνήτην αυτου καίπερ πνεύματος όντος 3 έξεβιάσατο άναχθηναι ώς μέντοι άπὸ της γης έγένοντο καὶ ὅ τε ἄνεμος ἰσχυρῶς κατέσπερχε καὶ ό κλύδων δεινώς σφας έξετάραττεν, ώστε κυβερνήτην μηδ' ἀναγκαζόμενον ἔτι τολμήσαι περαιτέρω πλευσαι, άλλα και άκοντος αὐτου έπανιέναι ἐπιχειρῆσαι, ἐξέφηνεν ἑαυτὸν καθάπερ έκ τούτου καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα παύσων, καὶ ἔΦη 4 "θάρσει Καίσαρα γαρ άγεις." τοιοῦτον μὲν δη φρόνημα και τοιαύτην έλπίδα ήτοι την άλλως η και εκ μαντείας τινος είχεν ώστε και παρά τὰ φαινόμενα πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐχέγγυον ποιεῖσοθαι οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεραιώθη, ἀλλ'² ἐπὶ πολὺ μάτην πονήσας ανέπλευσεν.

7 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸν "Αψον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἤσθετο, οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο,³ ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσας ῥαδίως αὐτόν, πρὶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου ὄντας προσλαβεῖν, κατεργάσεσθαι,⁴ σπουδῆ πρὸς τὴν 'Απολλωνίαν δυνάμει 2 τινὶ ἤλασεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπήντησέν οἱ, νομίσας άξιόμαχος καὶ

¹ ἐπιχειρῆσαι Χιρh., ἐπεχείρησεν L.

² ἀλλ' Rk., ἀλλ' ὡς L. ³ ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.

⁴ κατεργάσεσθαι Rk., κατεργάσασθαι L.

came about them because of the winter and because BC. 48 of Bibulus, Caesar suspected that they had adopted a neutral attitude and were watching the course of events, as often happens in civil strife. Wishing, therefore, to sail to Italy in person and unattended, he embarked on a small boat in disguise, saying that he had been sent by Caesar; and he forced the captain to set sail, although there was a wind. When, however, they had got away from land, and the gale swept violently down upon them and the waves buffeted them terribly, so that the captain did not longer dare even under compulsion to sail farther, but undertook to return even without his passenger's consent, then Caesar revealed himself, as if by this act he could stop the storm, and said, " Be of good cheer: you carry Caesar." Such spirit and such hope had he, either naturally or as the result of some oracle, that he felt firm confidence in his safety even contrary to the appearance of things. Nevertheless, he did not get across, but after struggling for a long time in vain sailed back.

After this he encamped opposite Pompey, near Apsus. For Pompey, as soon as he had learned of his arrival, had made no delay, but hoping to crush him easily before he should receive the others who were with Antony, hastily marched with a considerable force toward Apollonia. Caesar advanced to meet him as far as the river, thinking that even as he was he would prove a match for the troops

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ῶς τοῖς τότε προσιοῦσι γενήσεσθαι ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι πολὺ τῷ πλήθει ἦλαττοῦτο, ἡσύχασε. καὶ ὅπως γε μήθ' ὑπὸ δέους τοῦτο ποιεῖν μήτε ἐξάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου νομισθείη, λόγους τέ τινας συμβατηρίους σφίσι καθίει ¹ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο 3 διῆγε. γνοὺς δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ὡς ὅτι τάχιστα ἠθέλησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβῆναι ἐπεχείρησεν· ὡς δὲ ἡ γέφυρα βάρος λαβοῦσα διελύθη καί τινες τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων μονωθέντες ἀπώλοντο, ἐπέσχεν ἀθυμήσας ὅτι πρῶτον τῶν τοῦ πολέμου ἔργων ἀπτόμενος ἐπταίκει.

Κάν τούτω και τοῦ ἀντωνίου ἐπελθόντος 48 φοβηθείς ἀπεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον. τέως μεν γαρ ο Βίβουλος έζη, οὐδ' ἀπάραι ἐκεινος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐτόλμησεν· τοσαύτη που φυλακή αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτός τε ἐκκαμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας έτελεύτησε και την ναυαρχίαν δ Λίβων διεδέξατο, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ άνηγάγετο ώς καὶ βιασόμενος τὸν ἔκπλουν. 2 καταραχθείς τε ές τὴν γῆν ἠμύνατό τε αὐτὸν ίσχυρῶς προσβαλόντα οἱ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκβηναί ποι βουληθέντα οὐδαμή τής ταύτη 3 ήπείρου προσορμισθήναι είασεν. άπορήσας οδν δ Λίβων καὶ δρμου καὶ ὕδατος (τὸ γὰρ νησίδιον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος ὄν, ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν έδύνατο, καὶ ἄνυδρον καὶ ἀλίμενον ἐστιν) άπέπλευσε πόρρω ποι, ὅπου άμφοτέρων εὐπορή-4 σειν έμελλε. καὶ οῦτως ὁ ἀντώνιος ἐξαναχθεὶς ύστερον πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνου, καίπερ μετεώροις σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐθελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε·

1 καθίει Dind., καθείη L.

then approaching; but when he learned that he was far inferior in numbers, he halted. And in order that it might not be thought either that he was halting through fear or that he was making the first move in the war, he submitted some conciliatory proposals to the other side and delayed on this pretext. Pompey, perceiving his motive, wished to try conclusions with him as soon as possible and for this reason undertook to cross the river. But the bridge broke down under the weight and some of the advance guard, thus isolated, perished. Then he desisted, discouraged because he had failed in the first action of the war.

Meanwhile Antony also had arrived, and Pompey in fear retired to Dyrrachium. As long as Bibulus was alive, Antony had not dared even to set out from Brundisium, so close guard did the other keep over it; but when Bibulus, succumbing to the hardships, died, and Libo succeeded him as admiral, Antony scorned him and set sail with the intention of forcing the passage. When driven back to land, he repelled the other's vigorous attack upon him and later, when Libo was anxious to disembark somewhere, he allowed him to find anchorage nowhere along that part of the mainland. So the admiral, being in need of anchorage and water, since the little island in front of the harbour, which was the only place he could approach, is destitute of water and harbour alike, sailed off to some distant point where he was likely to find both in abundance. In this way Antony was enabled to set sail, but later, although he met with no harm at Libo's hands, even when the other attempted to attack them on

χειμών γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· πρὸς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμφότεροι ἐκακοπάθησαν.

49 Διασωθέντων δ' οὖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅ τε Πομπήιος ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ θαρσήσας, ὅτι τῷ πλήθει τῶν τότε συνόντων οἱ περιῆν 2 ἐκ τῶν προσγεγενημένων. τὸ δὲ Δυρράχιον ἐν τῆ γῆ τῆ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἤδη ¹ Μακεδονίας ² νενομισμένη κεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπικαιρότατον, εἴτ' οὖν ἡ Ἐπίδαμνος ἡ ³ τῶν Κερκυραίων εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρα τις οὖσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο γράψαντες τήν τε κτίσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐς Δυρράχιον ἤρωα 3 ἀναφέρουσιν· οἱ δ' ἔτεροι Δυρράχιον ἀντονομασθηναι τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἑαχίας δυσχέρειαν ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ τῆς 'Επιδάμνον πρόσρησις ζημιώδη δήλωσιν ἐν τῆ τῶν Λατίνων γλώσση ἔχουσα δυσοιώνιστός σφισιν ἐς τὸ περαιοῦσθαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

50 Πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο τὸ Δυρράχιον ὁ Πομπήιος καταφυγὼν στρατόπεδόν τε ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τάφρους βαθείας σταυρώματά τε ἰσχυρὰ περιεβάλετο.⁴ καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας προσέμιξε μὲν ὡς καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τὸ χαράκωμα τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰρήσων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρούσθη, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸ ἀπο-2 τειχίσαι. καὶ ἐκεῦνός τε ἄμα τοῦτ' εἰργάζετο, καὶ

¹ ήδη Leunel., ήδε L.

² Makedovias Oddey, μακεδονία L.

³ h Reim., καl h L.

⁴ περιεβάλετο Xiph., περιεβάλλετο L.

the high seas (for a violent storm came up which BC. 48 prevented the attack), both he and Libo suffered injuries from the storm itself.

When the soldiers had got safely across, Pompey, as I have said, retired to Dyrrachium, and Caesar followed him, encouraged by the fact that, with the reinforcements that had arrived, he was superior to his adversary in the number of troops then at his disposal. Dyrrachium is situated in the land formerly regarded as belonging to the tribe of Illyrians called Parthini. but now and even at that time regarded as a part of Macedonia; and it is very favourably placed, whether it be the Epidamnus of the Corcylaeans or another city. Those who record this fact refer both its founding and its name to a hero Dyrrachius; but the other authorities have declared that the place was renamed by the Romans with reference to the difficulties of the rocky shore, because the term Epidamnus has in the Latin tongue the meaning of "loss," 2 and so seemed to be of ill-omen for their vovages thither

Pompey after taking refuge in this town of Dyrrachium built a camp outside the city and surrounded it with deep moats and a stout palisade. Caesar encamped over against him and made assaults, in the hope of quickly capturing the palisades by the superior number of his troops; and when he was repulsed, he attempted to wall it in. While he was engaged in

I.e., the name was a compound of δυσ- ("unlucky") and ραχία ("breakers" or "rocky shore"). From Dyrrachium comes its modern name Durazzo

² Epidamnus is of course a Greek name, but the Romanwere not slow to connect the second element of the word with their own damnum. Compare the jest in Plautus, Menaechmi, 263 f.

ό Πομπήιος τὰ μὲν διεσταύρου τὰ δὲ ὑπετείχιζε καὶ διετάφρευε, πύργους τε ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ φυλακας επικαθίστη, ώς τήν τε περίοδον τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἀπέραντον καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ κρατοθόι τοις έναντίοις άπορον ποιήσαι. μέν οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτφ μάχαι αὐτῶν, βραχεῖαι δ' 3 οὖν 1 ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἐν ταύταις τοτὲ μὲν οὖτοι τοτε δε εκείνοι και ενίκων και ενικώντο, ώστε και θνήσκειν τινας αμφοτέρων όμοίως. αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταξὺ τῶν τε έλῶν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης νυκτός, ώς και προδοθησομένου υπό? τῶν 3 ἀμυνομένων, πειράσας εἴσω μὲν τῶν στενῶν 4 παρήλθε, προσπεσόντων δέ οἱ ἐνταῦθα πολλῶν μέν κατά πρόσωπον πολλών δέ και κατόπιν, οί πλοίοις παρακομισθέντες έξαίφνης αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ συχνούς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφθάρη. γενομένου δε τούτου ο Πομπήιος επιθαρσήσας ἐπεβούλευσε νυκτὸς τῷ περιτειχίσματι, καὶ ἐκείνου τέ τι ἀπροσδόκητος προσπεσών είλε, καὶ φόνον τῶν αὐλιζομένων πρὸς αὐτῷ πολύν εἰργάσατο.

51 Ο οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταῦτά τε συνεβεβήκει καὶ ὁ σίτος αὐτὸν ἐπελελοίπει (ή τε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ ή γη πασα ή πλησία άλλοτρία αὐτῷ ην, καί τινες διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπηυτομολήκεσαν), δείσας μὴ ἤτοι 4 προσεδρεύων καταπολεμηθη ή καλ ύπο τῶν ἄλλων έγκαταλειφθή, πάντα μέν τὰ ώκοδομημένα κατέστρεψε, πάντα δὲ τὰ παραβεβλημένα προσδιέ-Φθειρε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξαίφνης ἄρας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν 2 ὥρμησεν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτω χρόνω ὧ 5 τὸ

¹ οὖν Leuncl., οὖν αὐτῶν L. 3 τῶν Rk., τῶν τε L.

² ὑπὸ supplied by Rk. 4 ήτοι Bk., τοι L.

⁵ δ supplied by Leuncl.

this task, Pompey was constructing palisades, cross- BU 48 walls and ditches, and placing towers on the elevations and guards in them, so as to make the circuit of the encompassing wall complete and to make an attack impracticable for the foe, even if they conquered. There were meanwhile many, though slight, encounters between them, in which now one party, now the other, was victorious or beaten, so that a few were killed on both sides alike. Upon Dyrrachium itself Caesar made an attempt by night, between the marshes and the sea, in the expectation that it would be betrayed by its defenders. He got inside the narrows, but at that point was attacked both in front and in the rear by large forces which had been conveyed along the shore in boats and suddenly fell upon him; thus he lost many men and very nearly perished himself. After this occurrence Pompey took courage and planned a night assault upon the enclosing wall; and attacking it unexpectedly, he captured a portion of it by storm and caused great slaughter among the men encamped near it.

Caesar, in view of this occurrence and because his grain had failed, inasmuch as the whole sea and land in the vicinity were hostile, and because for this reason some had actually deserted, feared that he might either be defeated while watching his adversary or be abandoned by his other followers. Therefore he levelled all the works that had been constructed, destroyed also all the parallel walls, and thereupon set out suddenly and hastened into Thessaly. During this same time, it seems, while

Δυρράχιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, Λούκιός τε Κάσσιος Λονγίνος καὶ Γναίος Δομίτιος Καλουίνος ές τε την Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες, Λογγίνος μεν ενταύθα υπό τε του Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὑπὸ Σαδάλου Θρακὸς ἰσχυρῶς 3 ἐσφάλη, Καλουίνος δὲ τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαύστου ἀπεώσθη, Λοκρῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν προσχωρησάντων οί ές τε την Θεσσαλίαν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα μάχαις, τῆ μὲν λοχισθείς τη δ' άντενεδρεύσας, ενίκησε, 1 καὶ άπ' 4 αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς προσεποιήσατο. ἐνταῦθ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ῥᾶον σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς τε τροφής εὐπορήσων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διοίσων, ηπείχθη. καὶ ἐπειδη οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἄτε κακῶς πεπραγότα έδέχετο, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἄκων ἀπείχετο, Γόμφοις δὲ δὴ πολίχνη τινὶ Θεσσαλικῆ προσπεσών και κρατήσας πολλούς τε έκτεινε και 5 πάντα 2 διήρπασεν, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καταφοβήση. αὐτίκα γοῦν Μητρόπολις, ἔτερόν τι πόλισμα, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἢλθεν, ἀλλ' άμαχεὶ ώμολόγησε καί σφας κακὸν οὐδὲν δράσας ράου και άλλους τινάς άφ' έκατέρου προσεποιήσατο.

52 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς αὖθις ἐγίγνετο, Πομπήιος δὲ οὐκ ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτόν (νυκτός τε γὰρ ἐξαπιναίως ἀπανέστη, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Γενουσὸν σπουδῆ διέβη), οὕτω μέντοι τὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκώς. κἀκ τούτου τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἔλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐμεγαληγόρει τι ἡ καὶ δάφνην τινὰ ταῖς ῥάβδοις περιῆψεν, δυσχεραίνων ἐπὶ πολίταις τοιοῦτό τι ¹ ἐνίκησε Leunol., ἐνέδρευσε L. ² πάντα Χyl., πάντας L.

Dyrrachium was being besieged, Lucius Cassius B C. 48 Longinus and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus had been sent by him into Macedonia and Thessaly. Longinus had been disastrously defeated in Thessaly by Scipio and by Sadalus, a Thracian; and Calvinus had been repulsed from Macedonia by Faustus, but on receiving accessions from the Locrians and Aetolians had invaded Thessaly with these troops, and after being ambushed had afterwards set ambuscades himself and conquered Scipio in battle, thereby winning over a few cities. Thither, accordingly, Caesar hastened, thinking that by uniting with these officers he could more easily secure an abundance of provisions and thus continue the war. When no one would receive him, because of his reverses, he reluctantly held aloof from the larger settlements, but assaulted Gomphi, a little town in Thessaly; and upon taking it he put many to death and plundered everything, in order that by this act he might inspire the rest with terror. Metropolis, another town, for example, did not even contend with him but forthwith capitulated without a struggle; and as he did no harm to its citizens he more easily won over some other places by his course in these two instances.

So he was once more becoming powerful. Pompey did not pursue him, for he had withdrawn suddenly by night and had hastily crossed the Genusus river; however, he was of the opinion that he had brought the war to an end. Consequently he assumed the title of *imperator*, though he uttered no boastful words about it and did not even wind laurel about his fasces, disliking to show such exul-

2 ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης διανοίας οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν οὔτ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἔπεμψε, καίτοι ῥαδίως ἂν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν κατασχών· τῷ τε γὰρ ναυτικῷ πολὺ ἐκράτει ἄτε πεντακοσίας ναῦς ταχείας ἔχων, ὥστε πανταχόσε ἄμα κατᾶραι, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ οὔτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ ἤχθετο, οὔτε, εἰ καὶ τὰ Ἰ μάλιστα ἤλλο-3 τρίωτο, ἀξιόμαχά γε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἢν. πόρρω τε ² γὰρ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς δόξαι πολεμεῖν ἀφεστηκέναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ φόβον οὐδένα τοῖς ἐν τῆ Ὑρώμη τότε οὖσι παρασχεῖν ἤξίου. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰταλίας διὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπείρασεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλε τῷ κοινῷ περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τὸν Καίσαρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁρμήσας ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίκετο.

53 'Αντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἡ μὲν
ὄψις τῶν στρατοπέδων πολέμου τινὰ εἰκόνα
ἔφερεν, ἡ δὲ δὴ χρεία τῶν ὅπλων ὡς καὶ ἐν
εἰρήνη ἡσύχαζε. τό τε γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου
διασκοποῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον τό τε ἀστάθμητον
τῶν πραγμάτων προορώμενοι, καί τινα καὶ αἰδῶ
τοῦ τε ὁμοφύλου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ἔτι ποιού-
2 μενοι διέμελλον, κἀν τούτω καὶ λόγους περὶ
φιλίας σφίσιν ἀντέπεμπον, καί τισι καὶ συναλ-
λαγήσεσθαι διὰ κενῆς ἔδοξαν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ
τε παντὸς κράτους ἀμφότεροι ἐφιέμενοι, καὶ
πολλῆ μὲν φιλοτιμία ἐμφύτω πολλῆ δὲ καὶ
3 φιλονεικία ἐπικτήτω χρώμενοι (πρός τε γὰρ τῶν
ἴσων καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἥκιστά τινες
ἐλαττούμενοι φέρουσιν) οὖτε τι συγχωρῆσαι

τὰ added by R. Steph. (and so V).
 πόρρω τε Βk., πορρωτέρωι L.

tation over the downfall of citizens. From this same B.C. 48 motive he neither sailed to Italy himself nor sent any others there, though he might easily have taken possession of it all. For with his fleet he was far superior, as he had five hundred swift ships and could land at all points at the same time; moreover, the sentiment of that country was not opposed to him in any case, and, even if it had been ever so hostile, the people were no match for him in war. But he wished to be far from giving the impression that Italy was the stake for which he was fighting, and did not think he ought to cause any fear to the people who were then in Rome. Hence he made no attempt on Italy, nor even sent to the government any despatch about his successes; but after this he set out against Caesar and came into Thessaly

As they lay opposite each other the appearance of the camps bore, indeed, some semblance of war, but their arms were idle as in time of peace. As they considered the greatness of the danger and foresaw the obscurity and uncertainty of the issue, and still felt some regard for their common ancestry and their kinship, they continued to delay. Meanwhile they exchanged propositions looking toward friendship and appeared to some likely even to effect an empty reconciliation. The reason was that they were both reaching out after the supreme power and were influenced greatly by native ambition and greatly also by acquired rivalry,—since men can least endure to be outdone by their equals and intimates; hence they were not willing to make any concessions

άλλήλοις ήθελου, ὥσπερ ἀμφότεροι κρατήσαι δυνάμενοι, οὖτε πιστεῦσαι, κἂν συμβαθῆ τι, εδύναντο μὴ οὖ τοῦ πλείονός τε ἀεί σφας ὀριγνήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς αὖθις στασιάσειν. 54 γνώμη μεν γαρ τοσούτον αλλήλων διέφερον δσον Πομπήιος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος, Καΐσαρ δὲ καὶ πρῶτος πάντων εἶναι ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ὁ μὲν παρ' έκόντων τε τιμασθαι καὶ έθελόντων προστατείν φιλείσθαί τε έσπούδαζε, τω δε οὐδεν έμελεν εἰ καὶ ἀκόντων ἄρχοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἐπιτάσσοι, 2 τάς τε τιμὰς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ διδοίη. τὰ μέντοι ἔργα, δι' ὧν ἤλπιζον πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καταπράξειν, άμφότεροι δμοίως και άνάγκη ἐποίουν άδύνατον γὰρ ἢν αὐτῶν κατατυχεῖν τινι μὴ οὐ τοῖς τε οικείοις πολεμούντι καί τους όθνείους έπι τους όμοφύλους ἄγοντι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα ἀδίκως συλῶντι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων 3 ἀνόμως κτείνοντι.2 ὅστε εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις διήλλαττον, άλλὰ ταῖς γε πράξεσι, δι' ὧν ἀποπληρώσειν αὐτὰς ἤλπιζον, ώμοιοῦντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὔθ' δυφίεντό τινος ἀλλήλοις, καίπερ πολλάς δικαιώσεις προτεινάμενοι, καὶ ές χείρας τελευτώντες ήλθον.

55 Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν μέγας καὶ οἶος οὐχ ἔτερος. αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἄριστοι πρὸς πάντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατοι διαφανῶς οὐχ ὅτι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε ⁴ ἀνθρώπων ήξιοῦντο εἶναι· οἶα ⁵ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων τε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡσκημένοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς ὡμιληκότες, ἔργα

συμβαθη̂ St , συμβανθη̂ι I..
 τοῦτ' οἔθ' Rk., τοῦθ' L.
 τότε H. Steph., τε L.

to each other, since each felt that he might win, nor 16 C 48 could they feel confident, if they did reach some agreement, that they would not be always striving to gain the upper hand and would not fall to quarrelling again over the supreme issue. In temper they differed from each other to this extent, that Pompey desired to be second to no man and Caesar to be first of all, and the former was anxious to be honoured by a willing people and to preside over and be loved by men who fully consent, whereas the latter cared not at all if he ruled over even an unwilling people, issued orders to men who hated him, and bestowed the honours with his own hand upon himself. The deeds, however, through which they hoped to accomplish all that they wished, were perforce common to both alike. For it was impossible for any one successfully to gain these ends without fighting against his countrymen, leading foreigners against kindred, obtaining vast sums by unjust pillage, and killing unlawfully many of his dearest associates. Hence, even though they differed in their desires, yet in their acts, by which they hoped to realise those desires, they were alike. Consequently they would not yield to each other on any point, in spite of the many claims they put forward, and finally came to blows.

The struggle proved a mighty one and unparalleled by any other. In the first place, the leaders themselves had the name of being the most skilled in all matters of warfare and clearly the most distinguished not only of the Romans but also of all other men then living. They had been trained in arms from boyhood, had constantly been

τε ἀξιόλογα ἀποδεδειγμένοι, καὶ πολλή μὲν ἀρετή

πολλή δὲ καὶ τύχη κεχρημένοι, καὶ ἀξιοστρατη-2 γητότατοι 1 καὶ ἀξιονικότατοι ἦσαν· καὶ δυνάμεις Καίσαρ μέν του τε πολιτικού τὸ πλείστον καὶ καθαρώτατον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας τῆς τε '1βηρίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας πάσης τῶν τε νήσων ων εκράτει τους μαχιμωτάτους είχε, Πομπήιος δε συχνούς μεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τε ἱππάδος κάκ τῶν καταλόγων ἐπῆκτο, παμπληθεῖς δὲ παρά τε τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων 3 καὶ δήμων καὶ βασιλέων ἠθροίκει. ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ 'Ορώδου (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον, καίτοι πολέμιον ἀφ' οδ τοὺς Κράσσους ἀπέκτεινεν ὅντα, προσεταιρίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησε) πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὁσονοῦν οἰκειωθέντες ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ χρήματά οἱ ἔδωκαν, καὶ βοηθείας 4 οἱ μὲν ἔπεμψαν οἱ δὲ ἤγαγον. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πάρθος ὑπέσχετο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἂν τὴν Συρίαν λάβη, συμμαχήσειν, μη τυχών δε αὐτης οὐκ ἐπήμυνε. προύχοντος δ' οὖν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῷ πλήθει, ἐξισοῦντό σφισιν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῆ ῥώμη καὶ ούτως ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἰσόρροποι άλλήλοις καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνοι ἐγίγνοντο. 56 "Εκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας τῆς τε ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἀξιολογώτατος ἀγών

το Εκ τε ουν τουτων και εξ αυτης της αιτιας της τε ύποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἀξιολογώτατος ἀγὼν συνηνέχθη. ἤ τε γὰρ πόλις ἡ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς ἄπασα, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη ἤδη οὖσα, ἄθλόν σφισι προύκειτο· εὔδηλον γάρ που πᾶσιν ἢν ὅτι τῷ τότε κρατήσαντι δουλωθή-2 σεται. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε

¹ άξιοστρατηγητότατοι Bk., άξιοστρατηγηκότατοι L.

occupied with them, had performed deeds worthy P.O 48 of note, had been conspicuous for great valour and also for great good fortune, and were therefore most worthy of commanding and most worthy of victory. As to their forces, Caesar had the largest and the most genuinely Roman portion of the state legions and the most warlike men from the rest of Italy, from Spain, and the whole of Gaul and the islands that he had conquered; Pompey had brought along many from the senatorial and the equestrian order and from the regularly enrolled troops, and had gathered vast numbers from the subject and allied peoples and kings. With the exception of Pharnaces and Orodes (for he tried to win over even the latter, although an enemy since the time he had killed the Crassi), all the rest who had ever been befriended at all by Pompev gave him money and either sent or brought auxiliaries. Indeed, the Parthan had promised to be his ally if he should receive Syria; but as he did not get it, he lent him no help. While Pompey, then, greatly excelled in numbers, Caesar's followers were their equals in strength; and so, the advantages being even, they were an equal match for each other and the risks they incurred were equal.

As a result of these circumstances and of the very cause and purpose of the war a most notable struggle took place. For the city of Rome and its entire empire, even then great and mighty, lay before them as the prize, since it was clear to all that it would be the slave of him who then conquered. When they reflected on this fact and furthermore thought of their former deeds,—Pompey of Africa, Sertorius,

'Αφρικής καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ τε 3 Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις ἡγούμενοι καὶ προσκτήσασθαι την άλληλων δόξαν σπουδην ποιούμενοι, ἄργων. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἡττημένων τοῖς κρατοῦσι προσγίγνεται καὶ ἡ εὔκλεια ὅτι μάλιστα ὅσφ γὰρ ὰν μείζω καὶ δυνατώτερόν τις ἀνταγωνιστὴν καθέλῃ, τόσφ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ 57 μείζον αίρεται. και διὰ τοῦτο και τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλά μεν παραπλήσια δ' οὖν άλλήλοις παρήνεσαν, εἰπόντες πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πρός τε τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου και πρὸς τὸ έπειτα πρέπει λέγεσθαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας ὁρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγους 2 ποιούμενοι, καὶ ἀλλήλους τε τυράννους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθερωτὰς αὐτῶν ὀνομάζοντες, οὐδέν σφισι διάφορον είπειν έσχον, αλλ' ὅτι τοις μεν ἀποθανείν τοις δὲ σωθήναι, καὶ τοις μὲν αἰχμαλώτους τοῖς δὲ ἐν δεσπότου μοίρα πάντα τε ἔχειν ἢ πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ἢ ποιῆσαι δεινό-3 τατα ὑπάρξει. τοιαύτας οὖν δή τίνας παραινέσεις τοίς πολίταις ποιησάμενοι, και προσέτι και τά τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων πρός τε τὰς έλπίδας των κρεισσόνων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους τῶν χειρόνων προαγαγόντες, συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις τους δμοφύλους, τους συσκήνους, τους συσσίτους, 4 τους δμοσπόνδους. και τί ἄν τις τὰ τῶν ἄλλων όδύραιτο, όπότε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τε ταῦτα άλλήλοις ὄντες, καλ προσέτι πολλών μεν λόγων άπορρήτων πολλών δὲ καὶ ἔργων δμοίων κεκοινω-

Mithridates, Tigranes, and the sea, and Caesar of B.C 48 Gaul. Spain, the Rhine, and Britain,—they were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, believing that those conquests, too, were at stake, and each being eager to acquire the other's glory. For the renown of the vanquished, far more than his other possessions, becomes the property of the victor, since, the greater and more powerful the antagonist that a man overthrows, the greater is the height to which he himself is raised. Therefore they delivered to their soldiers also many exhortations, but very much alike on both sides, saving all that is fitting to be said on such an occasion with reference both to the immediate results of the struggle and to the subsequent results. As they both came from the same state and were talking about the same matters and calling each other tyrants and themselves liberators from tyranny of the men they addressed, they had nothing different to say on either side, but stated that it would be the lot of the one side to die, of the other to be saved, of the one side to be captives, of the other to enjoy the master's lot, to possess everything or to be deprived of everything, to suffer or to inflict a most terrible fate. After addressing some such exhortations to the citizens and furthermore trying to inspire the subject and allied contingents with hopes of a better lot and fears of a worse, they hurled at each other kinsmen, sharers of the same tent, of the same table, of the same libations. Yet why should any one, then, lament the fate of the others mvolved, when those very leaders, who were all these things to each other, and had, moreover, shared many secret plans and many exploits of like character,

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νηκότες, κήδός τέ ποτε συναψάμενοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παιδίον, ὁ μὲν ὡς πατηρ ὁ δὲ ὡς πάππος, ἀγαπήσαντες, ὅμως ἐμάχοντο; ὅσα γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν μίξασα συνέδησε, τότε ταῦτα τῃ ἀπλήστω τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμία διέλυον καὶ διέσπων καὶ διερρήγνυσαν. καὶ δι ἐκείνους ¹ καὶ ἡ Ἡρώμη περί τε ἑαυτῆ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτην ἄμα κινωνεύειν ἡναγκάζετο, ὅστε καὶ νικήσασα

ήττηθήναι.

Τοιούτω μεν άγωνι συνηνέχθησαν οὐ μέντοι 58 καὶ εὐθὺς συνέμιξαν, ἀλλ' οξα έκ τε της αὐτης πατρίδος καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας ὁρμώμενοι, καὶ τά τε δπλα παραπλήσια καὶ τὰς τάξεις δμοίας έγοντες, ὤκνουν μεν ἄρξαι τῆς μάχης, ὤκνουν δε 2 καὶ φονεῦσαί τινας ἐκάτεροι. σιγή τε άμφοτέρων και κατήφεια πολλή ήν, και ούτε τις αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ πρόσω προήει 2 οὐθ' ὅλως έκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐγκύψαντες ἠτρέμιζον ὥσπερ άψυχοι. φοβηθέντες οὖν ὅ τε Καΐσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡσυχάσαντες άμβλύτεροί πως γένωνται ή καλ συναλλαγώσι, προσέταξαν σπουδή τοις τε σαλπικταίς σημήναι 3 καὶ ἐκείνοις συμβοήσαι τὸ πολεμικόν.3 καὶ έπράχθη μεν εκάτερον, τοσούτου δε εδέησαν έπιροωσθήναι ώστε και έπι μαλλον έκ τε τής των σαλπικτών ήχης όμοφωνούσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτών βοής δμογλωσσούσης τό τε δμόφυλόν σφων έξέφηναν καὶ τὸ όμογενὲς ἐξήλεγξαν, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐς δάκρυα καὶ θρηνον ἔπεσον. ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε τῶν συμμαχικῶν προκαταρξάντων καὶ

who had once been joined by domestic ties and had 12 C 48 loved the same child, one as a father, the other as grandfather, nevertheless fought? All the ties with which nature, by mingling their blood, had bound them together, they now, led by their insatiable lust of power, hastened to break, tear, and rend asunder. Because of them Rome was being compelled to fight both in her own defence and against herself, so that even if victorious she would be vanquished.

Such was the struggle in which they joined; yet they did not immediately come to close quarters. Sprung from the same country and from the same hearth, with almost identical weapons and similar formation, each side shrank from beginning the battle, and shrank from slaying any one. So there was great silence and dejection on both sides; no one went forward or moved at all, but with heads bowed they stood motionless, as if devoid of life. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, fearing that if they remained quiet any longer their animosity might be lessened or they might even become reconciled, hurriedly commanded the trumpeters to give the signal and the men to raise the war cry in unison. Both orders were obeyed, but the combatants were so far from being imbued with courage, that at the sound of the trumpeters' call, uttering the same notes, and at their own shout, raised in the same language, they showed their sense of relationship and betrayed their kinship more than ever, and so fell to weeping and lamenting. But after a long time, when the allied troops began the battle, the rest also joined in, fairly

έκεινοι συνέμιξαν, ἔκφρονες ἐπ' αὐτοις γενό-59 μενοι. καὶ τοις μὲν ἄλλοις, οις πόρρωθεν ἡ άλκὴ ἦν, ήττον τὸ δεινὸν συνέβαινεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότες οῦς ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον ἤκόντιζον 2 ἐσφενδόνων οἱ δὲ δὴ ὁπλῖται οἵ τε ἰππῆς χαλεπώτατα ἀπήλλασσου, ἄτε γὰρ¹ ἐγγύς άλλήλων όντες καί τι καὶ λαλεῖν σφισι δυνάμενοι έγνώριζόν τε αμα τους αντιπαρατεταγμένους καὶ ετίτρωσκου, ανεκάλουν και εφόνευου, των πα-3 τρίδων εμέμνηντο καὶ εσκύλευον. ταῦτα μεν οί τε 'Ρωμαΐοι καὶ οἱ άλλοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας συστρατευόμενοί σφισιν, δπου ποτέ προστύχοιεν άλλήλοις, καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἔπασχον καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ οἴκαδε δι αὐτῶν τῶν σφαγέων 4 ενετέλλοντο. τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοον καὶ προθύμως καὶ άφειδως έμάχετο, πολλήν σπουδήν, ώσπερ ποτέ ύπερ 2 της σφετέρας έλευθερίας, ούτω τότε κατά της των Γωμαίων δουλείας ποιούμενοι, επιθυμία, άτε εν πασιν αὐτων ελαττούμενοι, δμοδούλους σφας έχειν.

60 Μεγίστη τε οὖν ή μάχη καὶ πολυτροπωτάτη διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθος τό τε πολυειδὲς τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο. πάμπολλοι μὲν γὰρ ὁπλῖται πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἱππῆς, τοξόται τε ἔτεροι καὶ σφενδονῆται ἄλλοι ὄντες, τό τε πεδίον πᾶν κατέλαβον, καὶ σκεδασθέντες πολλαχῆ μὲν ἀλλήλοις οἶα ὁμόσκευοι, πολλαχῆ δὲ καὶ ἔτέροις 2 ἀναμὶξ ἐμάχοντο. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ Πομπηίειοι τῆ τε ἱππείᾳ καὶ τῆ τοξείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόρρωθέν τε ἐγκυκλούμενοί τινας προσβολαῖς αἰφνιδίοις

γὰρ Bs., καὶ L.
 ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L.

beside themselves at what they were doing. Those B.C 48 who fought at long range were less sensible of the horror, as they shot their arrows, hurled their javelins, and discharged their slings without knowing whom they hit; but the heavy-armed troops and the cavalry had a very hard time of it, as they were close to each other and could even talk a little back and forth; at one and the same moment they would recognize those who confronted them and would wound them, would call them by name and would slaughter them, would recall the towns they had come from and would despoil them. Such were the deeds both done and suffered by the Romans and by the others from Italy who were with them on the campaign, wherever they met each other. Many sent messages home through their very slayers. But the subject force fought both zealously and relentlessly, showing great zeal, as once to win their own freedom, so now to secure the slavery of the Romans; they wanted, since they were reduced to inferiority to them in all things, to have them as fellow-slaves.

Thus it was a very great battle and full of diverse incidents, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly on account of the numbers and the variety of the armaments. There were vast bodies of heavy-armed soldiers, vast bodies of cavalry, in another group archers and still others that were slingers, so that they occupied the whole plain, and scattered over it, they fought often with each other, since they belonged to the same arms, but often also with men of the other arms indiscriminately. The Pompeians surpassed in cavalry and archers; hence they would surround troops at a distance, employ sudden assaults,

έγρωντο, καὶ συνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς έξανεχώρουν, εἶτ' αὖθις καὶ μάλ' αὖθις ἐπετίθεντό σφισι, τοτὲ 3 μεν ενταθθα τοτε δε εκείσε μεθιστάμενοι. οι οθν Καισάρειοι ταῦτά τε ἐφυλάσσοντο, καὶ τὰς τάξεις σφων έξελίσσοντες άντιπρόσωποί τε άελ τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν 1 ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς γωρούντες των τε ανδρών και τών ἵππων² άντελαμβάνοντο, προθύμως άγωνιζόμενοι γάρ πεζοί τοις ίππεῦσιν αὐτῶν κοῦφοι ἐπ' αὐτὸ 4 τοῦτο συνετετάχατο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἔν.3 ώσπερ εἶπον, άλλὰ πολλαχῆ ἄμα σποράδην έγίγνετο, ώστε των μεν πόρρωθεν μαχομένων των δε συσταδον αγωνιζομένων, και των μεν παιόντων τινάς τῶν δὲ πατασσομένων, φευγόντων ἐτέρων, διωκόντων ἄλλων, πολλάς μέν πεζομαχίας 5 πολλάς δὲ καὶ ἱππομαχίας ὁρᾶσθαι. κάν τούτφ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν 5 συχνὰ συνέβαινε. καὶ γὰρ τρέψας τίς τινα ἐτρέπετο, καὶ άλλος ἐκκλίνας τινά άντεπετίθετο αυτώ πλήξας τις έτερον αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, καὶ πεπτωκώς ἄλλος έστηκότα ἀπεκτίννυε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν άτρωτοι έθνησκον, πολλοί δὲ καὶ 6 ἐφόνευον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐπαιώνιζον, οἱ δὲ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἀλοφύροντο, ὥστε βοῆς καὶ στεναγμών πάντα πληρωθήναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι καὶ ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι (τὰ γαρ λεγόμενα ἄσημά σφισι διά τε τὸ ἀλλοεθνες τὸ ἀλλόθροον ὄντα δεινώς αὐτοὺς

¹ προσβάλλουσιν Xiph., προσβαλοῦσιν L.

² Ιππων Xiph., Ιππέων Ĺ. ³ καθ' εν Rk., καθ' ενα L.

⁴ άλλων Χίρh., έτέρων L.

⁵ παρά δόξαν Xiph., παραδόξαντι L.

and retire after throwing their opponents into con- B.C. 48 fusion; then they would attack them again and again. turning now to this side and now to that. Caesarians, therefore, were on their guard against this, and by wheeling round always managed to face their assailants, and when they came to close quarters with them, would seize hold of both men and horses in the eagerness of the struggle; for light-armed infantry had been drawn up with their cavalry for this very purpose. And all this took place, as I said, not in one spot, but in many places at once, scattered all about, so that with some contending at a distance and others fighting at close quarters, this body smiting its opponents and that group being struck, one detachment fleeing and a second pursuing, many infantry battles and many cavalry battles as well were to be seen. Meanwhile many incredible things were taking place. One man after routing another would himself be turned to flight, and another who had avoided an opponent would in turn attack him. One soldier who had struck another would be wounded himself, and a second, who had fallen, would kill the enemy who stood over him. Many died without being wounded, and many when half dead kept on slaving. Some were glad and sang paeans, while the others were distressed and uttered lamentations, so that all places were filled with shouts and groans. majority were thrown into confusion by this fact, for what was said was unintelligible to them, because of the confusion of nations and languages, and alarmed them greatly, and those who could understand one

έξέπλησσε), τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνιεῖσιν ἀλλήλων πολλαπλάσιον τὸ κακὸν συμβῆναι· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἰδίοις σφῶν παθήμασι καὶ τὰ τῶν πέλας καὶ ἑώρων ἄμα καὶ ἤκουον.

Τέλος δέ, ισορρόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον 61 άγωνισαμένων, και πολλών άμφοτέρωθεν όμοίως καὶ πεσόντων καὶ τρωθέντων, ὁ Πομπήιος ἄτε καὶ 'Ασιανὸν καὶ ἀγύμναστον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ έχων ήττήθη, ὥσπερ που καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου οἱ 2 ἐδεδήλωτο κεραυνοί τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσέπεσον, καὶ πῦρ ἀέριον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφρείας φανέν ές την εκείνου κατέσκηψε, τά τε σημεία αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μέλισσαι περιέσχου, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερείων αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς βωμοῖς προσαγόμενα ἐξέδρα. 3 καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὁ ἀγὼν ἐκεῖνος ἔτεινεν ὥστε πολλαχόθι ἐν ¹ αὐτῷ τῷ της μάχης ημέρα και στρατοπέδων συνόδους και όπλων κτύπους συμβηναι, έν τε Περγάμφ τυμπάνων τέ τινα καὶ κυμβάλων ψόφον ἐκ τοῦ Διουυσίου ἀρθέντα διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως 4 χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοίνικά τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῷ ἀναφῦναι καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίφ που κειμένην μεταστραφήναι, τοις τε Σύροις δύο τινάς νεανίσκους τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταουίφ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε δὲ ἔτι Γαλατίας ὄρνιθάς τινας οὐχ ὅτι διαγγεῖλαι 5 αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι τρόπον τινά· Γάιος γάρ τις Κορνήλιος πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτεκμήρατο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγήσατο.

BOOK XIJ

another suffered a calamity many times worse; for B.G. 48 in addition to their own misfortunes they could hear and at the same time see those of their neighbours.

At last, after they had carried on an evenlybalanced struggle for a very long time and many on both sides alike had fallen or been wounded, Pompey, since the larger part of his army was Asiatic and untrained, was defeated, even as had been made clear to him before the action. For thunderbolts had fallen upon his camp, a fire had appeared in the air over Caesar's camp and had then fallen upon his own, bees had swarmed about his military standards, and many of the victims after being led up close to the very altar had run away. And so far did the effects of that contest extend to the rest of mankind that on the very day of the battle collisions of armies and the clash of arms occurred in many places. In Pergamum a noise of drums and cymbals rose from the temple of Dionysus and spread throughout the city; in Tralles a palm tree grew up in the temple of Victory and the goddess herself turned about toward an image of Caesar that stood beside her; in Syria two young men announced the result of the battle and vanished; and in Patavium, which now belongs to Italy but was then still a part of Gaul, some birds not only brought news of it but even acted it out to some extent, for one Gaius Cornelius drew from their actions accurate information of all that had taken place, and narrated it to

the bystanders. These several things happened B C. 18 on that very same day and though they were, not unnaturally, distrusted at the time, yet when news of the actual facts was brought, they were marvelled at.

Of Pompey's followers who were not destroyed on the spot some fled whithersoever they could, and others [were captured 1] later on. Those of them who were soldiers of the line Caesar enrolled in his own legions, exhibiting no resentment. the senators and knights, however, he put to death all whom he had previously captured and spared, except some whom his friends begged off; for he allowed each friend on this occasion to save one man. The rest who had then for the first time fought against him he released, remarking: "Those have not wronged me who supported the cause of Pompey, their friend, without having received any benefit from me." This same attitude he adopted toward the princes and the peoples who had assisted Pompey. He pardoned them all, bearing in mind that he himself was acquainted with none or almost none of them, whereas from his rival they had previously obtained many favours. Indeed, he praised these far more than he did those who, after receiving favours from Pompey, had deserted him in the midst of dangers: the former he could reasonably expect would be favourably disposed to him also, but as to the latter, no matter how anxious they seemed to be to please him in anything, he believed that, inasmuch as they had betrayed their friend in this

¹ This is the idea to be supplied if we follow Plutarch (Caes. 46, 2); but Caesar's own account (B.C. in. 98 f.) would suggest rather "surrendered."

φίλου γενομένους οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε φείσεσθαι ¹ 63 ἐνόμιζε. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι Σαδάλου μὲν τοῦ Θρακὸς καὶ Δηιοτάρου τοῦ Γαλάτου, καίτοι καὶ έν τη μάχη γενομένων, Ταρκονδιμότου² τε έν μέρει μέν τινι της Κιλικίας δυναστεύοντος. πλείστον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ ναυτικὰ βοηθήσαντος, 2 ἐφείσατο. τί γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς συμμαχίας πέμψαντας καταλέγειν, οίς καὶ αὐτοῖς συγγνώμην ἔνειμε, χρήματα μόνον παρ' αὐτῶν ³ λαβών; ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔδρασέ σφας οὔτ' άφείλετο, 4 καίπερ πολλών πολλά καὶ μεγάλα, τὰ μέν πάλαι τὰ δὲ καὶ τότε, παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου 3 είληφότων. μέρος μεν γάρ τι της 'Αρμενίας της τοῦ Δηιοτάρου γενομένης 'Αριοβαρζάνει τῷ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεί έδωκεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δηιόταρον ἐν τούτφ τι ἔβλαψεν, άλλὰ καὶ προσευπογέτησεν 5 οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου τὴν χώραν ἀπετέμετο, άλλ' ύπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου πᾶσαν την Αρμενίαν καταληφθείσαν καταλαβών τὸ μέν τι αὐτῆς τῷ 'Αριοβαρζάνει τὸ δὲ δὴ τῷ Δηιοτάρῳ ἐχαρίσατο. 4 καὶ τούτοις μὲν οὕτως ἐχρήσατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Φαρνάκῃ προβαλλομένῳ ὅτι μὴ προσαμύναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ, κάκ τούτου συγγνώμης έφ' οξς έπεποιήκει τυχείν άξιοῦντι, οὔτε ἔνειμεν ἐπιεικὸς οὐδέν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐπεκάλεσεν, ὅτι καὶ πονηρὸς καὶ 5 ἀνόσιος περί τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐγένετο. τοσαύτη μὲν και φιλανθρωπία και άρετη πρὸς άπαντας τους άντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐπίπαν εχρῆτο άμέλει

¹ φείσεσθαι Η. Steph., φείσασθαι L.

 ² Ταρκονδιμότου R. Steph., ταρκονδομότου L.
 ³ αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.
 ⁴ ἀφείλετο St., ἀφείλατο L.

⁵ προσευηργέτησεν St., προσευεργέτησεν L.

⁶ επίπαν Kuiper, επηταν L.

crisis they would, on occasion, not spare him either. B c. 48 A proof of his feeling is that he spared Sadalus the Thracian and Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been in the battle, and Tarcondimotus, who was ruler of a poition of Cilicia and had been of the greatest assistance to Pompey in the matter of ships. But what need is there to enumerate the rest who had sent auxiliaries, to whom also he granted pardon, merely exacting money from them? He did nothing else to them and took from them nothing else, though many had received numerous large gifts from Pompey, some long ago and some just at that time. He did give a certain portion of Armenia that had belonged to Deiotarus, to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, yet in this he did not injure Deiotarus at all, but rather conferred an additional favour upon him. For he did not curtail his territory, but after occupying all of Armenia previously occupied by Pharnaces, he bestowed one part of it upon Ariobarzanes and another part upon Deiotarus. These men, then, he treated in this wise. Pharnaces, on his side, made a plea that he had not assisted Pompey and therefore, in view of his behaviour, deserved to obtain pardon; but Caesar showed him no consideration, and furthermore reproached him for this very thing, that he had proved himself base and impious toward his benefactor. Such humanity and uprightness did he show throughout to all those who had fought against him. At any rate, all the letters that were

καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ ¹ ἀπόθετα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου κιβωτίοις εὐρεθέντα, ὅσα τινῶν τήν τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δύσνοιαν ἤλεγχεν, οὖτ' ἀνέγνω οὔτ' ἐξεγράψατο ἀλλ' 6 εὐθὺς κατέφλεξεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν ἀναγκασθἢ δρᾶσαι, ὥστε τινὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ μισῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καιπίων ² ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἑάλω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσώθη.

¹ τὰ added by Rk. ² Καιπίων Leuncl., καπίων L.

found filed away in Pompey's chests which convicted BC. 48 any persons of good-will toward the latter or ill-will toward himself he neither read nor had copied, but burned them immediately, in order not to be forced by what was in them to take severe measures; and for this reason, if no other, one ought to hate the men who plotted against him. I make this statement with a particular purpose, since Marcus Brutus Caepio, who afterwards killed him, was not only captured by him but also spared.

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ἡ Ρωμαικῶν

- α. 'Ωs Πομπήιοs ήττηθείs ἐν Θεσσαλία ἔφυγεν εἰs Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπέθανεν.
- β. 'Ωs Καΐσαρ Πομπήιον ἐπιδιώκων εἰs Αἴγυπτον ἦλθεν.
- γ. 'Ως ἡγγέλθη τὰ κατὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον εἰς 'Ρώμην καὶ ἃ¹
 ἐψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι.
- δ. 'Ως ἐστασίασαν οἱ ἐν Ῥώμη παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποδημίαν.
- 'Ως Καῖσαρ Αἰγυπτίοις πολεμήσας κατεστρέψατο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆ Κλεοπάτρα ἐχαρίσατο.
- ζ. 'Ως Καΐσαρ Φαρνάκην ἐνίκησεν.
- η. 'Ως Καΐσαρ ες 'Ρώμην επανηλθε καὶ τὰ εν αὐτη κατεστήσατο.
- θ. 'Ως Καΐσαρ ες 'Αφρικήν εστράτευσεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τής Γ . Γουλίου Καίσαρος τὸ β΄ καὶ Πουπλίου Σερουιλίου Γισαυρικοῦ ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἕν, ἐν ῷ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο

- Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υί. Καΐσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ β' 3
- Μ. 'Αντώνιος Μ. υί. ἵππαρχος ὑπάτω δὲ
- Κ. Φούφιος Κ. υί. Καλήνος
- Π. Οὐατίνιος 4 Π. υί.

΄Η μὲν οὖν μάχη τοιαύτη δή τις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Πομπήιος πάντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων παραχρῆμα ἀπέγνω, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε ⁵ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς οὔτε τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν

¹ & supplied by Xyl. (in transl.).

 ² τη̂s Γ. Bs., τη̂s Reim., ἔτη η̄ L.
 ³ L has ὑπ' after β'; Xyl. deleted.

The following is contained in the Forty-second of Dio's Rome .—

How Pompey, defeated in Thessaly, fled to Egypt and perished (chaps. 1-5).

How Caesar, pursuing Pompey, came into Egypt (chaps. 6-9). How the news about Caesar and Pompey was announced at Rome, and what decrees were passed in honour of Caesar (chaps 17-20)

How the people in Rome fell into strife during Caesar's

absence (chaps, 21-33).

How Caesar fought and subdued the Egyptians and made a present of them to Cleopatra (chaps. 34-44).

How Caesar conquered Pharnaces (chaps. 45-48).

How Caesar returned to Rome and settled matters there (chaps. 49-55).

How Caesar led an expedition into Africa (chaps 56-58).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of C. Julius Caesar (II) and Publius Servilius Isauricus, together with one additional year, in which there were the magistrates here enumerated:—

47 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, dictator (II), M. Antonius M. F., master of hoise, and the two consuls Q. Fufius Q. F. Calenus and P. Vatimus P. F.

Such was the general character of the battle. As r c.48 a result of it Pompey straightway despaired of all his projects and no longer took any account of his own valour or of the multitude of troops remaining

5 ούτε Pflugk, οὐδε L.

⁴ Οὐατίνιος R. Steph., οὐαντινος L.

πλήθους οὔθ' ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ τύχη δι' ἐλαχίστου τοὺς πταίσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει λογισμόν τινα ἐποιήσατο, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πλεῖ-στον μὲν τὸ εὔθυμον πλεῖστον δὲ τὸ εὔελπι παρὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐσφάλη ἀεί ποτε σχών. 2 αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν ἐκείνοις ἀντίπαλος ὡς πλήθει τοις εναντίοις ων ου προελάμβανε τή γνώμη την νίκην, άλλ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερα την ἔκβασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔν τε τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ πρὶν ἐς κατάπληξίν τινα ἀφικέσθαι, προσκοπῶν οὐκ ημέλει της του χείρονος θεραπείας, και δια τουτ' ούθ' υπείκειν ταις συμφοραις ηναγκάζετο και ἀναμάχεσθαι ῥαδίως ἐδύνατο, τότε δὲ πολλῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος περισχήσειν έλπίσας οὐδὲν προείδετο. 3 οὔκουν 1 οὐδὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδείω έποιήσατο, οὐδ' ἀναφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἡττηθέντι οἱ παρεσκεύασε· τρίψαί τε δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὰ πράγματα, κἀκ τούτου ἀμαχεὶ κρατῆσαι (στρατός τε γὰρ καθ' εκάστην ήμεραν αὐτῷ προσεγίγνετο, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα ἄτε ἔν τε φιλία τἢ πλείστη χώρα ὢν και ναυκρατῶν εἶχεν), ὅμως, εἴτε έθελοντής ως και πάντως νικήσων, είτε και ύπὸ 4 των συνόντων εκβιασθείς, συνέβαλε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνικήθη, δεινῶς ἐξεπλάγη καὶ οὔτε τι² βούλευμα καίριον οὕτ' ἐλπίδα βεβαίαν ές τὸ ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἔσχεν. ὅταν γάρ τι ἀπροσδοκήτως τέ τινι καὶ μετὰ πλείστου παραλόγου προσπέση, τό τε φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει, ὥστ' αὐτὸν κάκιστόν τε καὶ ἀσθενέστατον τῶν 5 πρακτέων κριτήν γενέσθαι ου γάρ εθέλουσιν οί 1 ούκουν Bk., οὐκοῦν L. 2 ούτε τι Xiph., ούτι ἔτι L.

to him or of the fact that Fortune often restores ne is the fallen in a moment of time; yet previously he had always possessed the greatest cheerfulness and the greatest hopefulness on all occasions of failure. The reason for this was that on those occasions he had usually been evenly matched with his foe and hence had not taken his victory for granted; but by reflecting beforehand on the two possible issues of events while he was still coolheaded and was not yet involved in any alarm he had not neglected to prepare for the worst. In this way he had not been compelled to yield to disasters and had always been able easily to renew the conflict; but this tune, as he had expected to prove greatly superior to Caesar, he had taken no precautions. For instance, he had not placed his camp in a suitable position, nor had he provided a refuge for himself in case of defeat. And whereas he might have delayed action and so have prevailed without a battle,-since his army kept increasing every day and he had abundant provisions, being in a country for the most part friendly and being also master of the sea,-nevertheless, whether of his own accord, because he expected to conquer in any event, or because his hand was forced by his associates, he joined issue. Consequently, as soon as he was defeated, he became greatly terrified and had no opportune plan or sure hope to enable him to face the danger Thus it is that whenever an event befalls a man unexpectedly and contrary to all calculation, it humbles his spirit and strikes his reason with panic, so that he becomes the poorest and weakest judge of what must be done. For reason cannot dwell

λογισμοί τοῖς φόβοις συνείναι, άλλὰ ἂν μέν προκατάσχωσί τινα, καὶ μάλα γενναίως αὐτοὺς

άπωθοῦνται, αν δ' ύστερήσωσιν, ήττωνται.

Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν προενόησε, καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἄφρακτος εύρέθη, τάχ' ὰν μὴ χαλεπῶς, εἴπερ τι προεώρατο,1 πάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνακτησάμενος. τῶν τε γὰρ μεμαχημένων συχνοί περιεγεγόνεσαν, και έτέρας δυνάμεις οὐ σμικράς είχε τό τε μέγιστον καὶ γρήματα πολλά ἐκέκτητο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης άπάσης ἐκράτει, αί τε πόλεις καὶ αἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίᾳ καὶ δυστυχήσαντα αὐτὸν 2 ήγάπων. νΰν δ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐφ' ῷ μάλιστα ἐθάρσει κακῶς ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οὐδενὶ ύπὸ της αὐτίκα τοῦ φόβου προσβολης ἔχρήσατο, άλλὰ τό τε ἔρυμα εὐθὺς ἐξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς Λάρισ-3 σαν μετ' όλίγων έφυγε. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσῆλθε καίτοι των Λαρισσαίων ἐσκαλούντων, φοβηθεὶς μή τινα αἰτίαν ἐκ τούτου ὄφλωσιν ἀλλ' έκείνους μὲν τῷ κρατοῦντι προσχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τά τε ἐπιτήδεια λαβων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καταβὰς ἐς Λέσβον ὁλκάδι 2 πρός τε την γυναίκα την Κορνηλίαν και πρός τον υίον 4 του Σέξτου 3 έπλευσε. και αυτούς παραλαβών καὶ μηδὲ ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην εσελθών ἐς Αίγυπτον ἀπῆρε, συμμαχίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου του βασιλεύοντος αὐτης σχήσειν έλπίσας του τε γὰρ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου τὴν

¹ προεώρατο Bk., προεωράτο L. ² δλκάδι R. Steph., δλκάδα L

³ Here and in the majority of instances elsewhere the Mss. read σέξστον, but Xiph. and Zon. usually have σέξτον.

⁴ Μυτιλήνην Dind., μιτυλήνην L.

with fear; if it occupies the ground first, it boldly BC 48 thrusts the other out, but if it be last on the field, it gets the worst of the encounter.

Hence Pompey, also, having considered none of the chances beforehand, was found naked and defenceless, whereas, if he had taken any precautions, he might, perhaps, without trouble have quickly recovered everything. For large numbers of the combatants on his side had survived and he had other forces of no small importance. Above all, he possessed large sums of money and was master of the whole sea, and the cities both there and in Asia were devoted to him even in his misfortune. But, as it was, since he had fared ill where he felt most confident, through the fear that seized him at the moment he made no use of any one of these resources, but left the camp at once and fled with a few companions toward Larissa. He did not enter the city, although the inhabitants invited him to do so, because he feared that they might incur some blame in consequence; but bidding them go over to the victor, he himself took provisions, went down to the sea, and sailed away on a merchantman to Lesbos, to his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus. After taking them on board, he did not enter Mitvlene either, but departed for Egypt, hoping to secure an auxiliary force from Ptolemy, the king of that country. This was the son of that Ptolemv who had received back the kingdom at his hands,

βασιλείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολαβόντος υίδς ἢν. καὶ διά τοῦτο καί τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν οί ἐπε-5 πόμφει. ἤκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πάρθους φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν ἔχω. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τούς τε 'Ρωμαίους πάντας, άφ' οδ σφισιν δ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ τον Πομπήιον μάλιστα άτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῷ, ούτως εμίσουν ώστε και τον πρεσβευτην αυτού πρὸς την αἴτησιν της βοηθείας έλθόντα δησαι 6 καίπερ Βουλευτην όντα και ο Πομπήιος οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοῦ πολεμιωτάτου, οῦ γε 1 εὖ πράττων οὐκ ἐτετυχήκει, ἰκέτης ὑπέμεινε δυστυχήσας γενέσθαι. 'Αλλ' ές την Αίγυπτον δι' ἄπερ είπον ώρμησε. καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεὶς έκειθεν προς το Πηλούσιον επεραιώθη, δπου δ Πτολεμαΐος Κλεοπάτρα τη 2 άδελφη πολεμών 2 έστρατοπεδεύετο. τάς τε ναῦς ἀνοκωχεύσας 8 έπεμψέ τινας, της τε πατρώας αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας άναμιμνήσκων και δεόμενος έπι ρητοίς τέ τισι καὶ βεβαίοις καταγθήναι έκβήναι γάρ πρὶν 3 ἀσφάλειάν τινα λαβείν οὐκ ἐθάρσησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ό μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐδέν (παῖς γὰρ ἔτι κομιδῆ ἦν) ἀπεκρίνατο, τῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων τινὲς καὶ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκώς μέν ποτε τῷ Πομπηίω, συγγεγονώς δὲ τῷ Γαβινίω καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαίω μετὰ στρατιωτῶν 4 ές φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένος, ἢλθον μὲν ώς φίλοι, ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ ἀνοσίως, καὶ ἐκ τούτου προστρόπαιον καὶ έαυτοῖς καὶ τῆ Αἰγύπτφ πάση προσέθεντο αὐτοί τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλοντο,

¹ οὖ γε Rk., οὕτε L. 2 τῆ supplied by R. Steph.

through the agency of Gabinius, and in return for BC 48 that service he had sent a fleet to Pompey's assistance. I have heard, indeed, that Pompey even thought of fleeing to the Parthians, but I cannot credit the report. For that race so hated the Romans as a people ever since Crassus had made his expedition against them, and Pompey especially, because he was related to Crassus, that they had even imprisoned his envoy who came with a request for aid, though he was a senator. And Pompey would never have endured in his misfortune to become a suppliant of his bitterest foe for what he had failed to obtain while enjoying success

He set out, then, for Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia crossed from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy was encamped while making war upon his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favour shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite guarantees; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer, for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had once served with Pompey and after becoming associated with Gabinius had been left behind by him with some troops to guard Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends; but they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought a curse upon themselves and all Egypt. For not only did they themselves

καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆ Κλεοπάτρα δουλεύειν, ὅπερ ἥκιστα ἐβούλοντο,¹ παρεδόθησαν, έπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐσ-4 εγράφησαν. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε Σεπτίμιος καὶ 'Αχιλλας ὁ στρατίαρχος, ἄλλοι τε μετ' αὐτῶν οντες, ετοίμως έφασαν εσδέξεσθαι ε τον Πομπήιον, ὅπως ὡς ῥᾶστα ἀπατηθεὶς άλοίη 3 καὶ τούς τε έλθόντας παρ' αὐτοῦ προέπεμψαν, θαρσείν σφας ένιοι κελεύσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκατίων ἐπιβάντες προσέπλευσαν αὐτῷ, 2 καὶ τά τε άλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ήξίωσαν πρὸς έαυτοὺς μετεκβῆναι, λέγοντες μήτε τινα ναθν δύνασθαι ύπο τοθ μεγέθους δια τα βράχη πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσσχεῖν, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαΐον ἐν πολλη ἐπιθυμία είναι θᾶσσον αὐτὸν 3 ίδειν. και ὁ μεν ούτω, καίτοι πάντων οί των σύμπλων ἀπαγορευόντων, πιστεύσας αὐτοῖς 6 τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών,

" ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κὰν ἐλεύθερος μόλη."

4 οί δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο, φοβηθέντες μη καὶ ἐντυχων τῷ Πτολεμαίω σωθη είτε ὑπ' αύτοῦ ἐκείνου ἡ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἡ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων (καὶ γαρ εύνοιαν αὐτοῦ τη μεγάλην είχον), ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι, μηδεν μήτ' εἰπόντα μήτ'

⁷ αὐτοῦ supplied by Reim.

¹ ἐβούλοντο R. Steph., ἠβούλοντο L.

² ἐσδέξεσθαι Dind., ἐσδέξασθαι L. βάλοίη Dind., άλώηι L. 4 ναῦν supplied by Jacoby. 5 προσσχεῖν Bk, προσχεῖν L.

⁶ At least one word is wanting here, though no lacuna is indicated in L. The scribe of L'conjectured έξηλθε.

perish not long afterward, but the Egyptians for BC. 48 their part were first delivered to be slaves of Cleopatra, which they particularly disliked, and later were enrolled among the subjects of Rome. At this time, then, Septimius and Achillas, the commanderin-chief, and others who were with them declared they would readily receive Pompey, their purpose being that he might be the more easily deceived and ensnared. So they sent his messengers on ahead, after some had bidden them be of good cheer, and afterwards the conspirators themselves embarked on some small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their boats, declaring that by reason of its size and the shallow water a ship could not come close to land and that Ptolemy was very eager to see him promptly. Accordingly, though all his fellow-voyagers urged him not to do so, she changed boats], trusting in his hosts and saying merely:

"Whoever to a tyrant wends his way,
His slave is he, e'en though his steps be free."

Sophocles Incert. Fab. 789 (Nauck)

Now when they drew near the land, fearing that ⁷⁸⁰ (Nauck) if he met Ptolemy he might be saved, either by the king himself or by the Romans who were with him or by the Egyptians, who regarded him with very kindly feelings, they killed him before sailing into the harbour. He uttered not a word and made

5 όδυράμενον, ώς γάρ τάχιστα της τε έπιβουλης ήσθετο, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὖτ' ἀμύνασθαί σφας οὔτε

διαφυγείν δυνήσεται, συνεκαλύψατο.

Τοιοῦτον μεν τὸ τέλος τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τούτου τήν τε ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου¹ γένους 2 έλεγχθηναι. προμηθείας τε γάρ οὐδὲν έλλείπων, άλλά πρὸς τὸ κακουργήσαί τε δυνάμενον ἀσφαλέστατος ² ἀεί ποτε γενόμενος ἢπατήθη, καὶ νίκας πολλὰς μὲν ³ ἐν τῆ ᾿Αφρικῆ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῆ ⁴ ᾿Ασία τῆ τε Εὐρώπη παραδόξους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκ μειρακίου ανελόμενος ήττήθη παραλόγως όκτώ τε καί 3 πεντηκοντούτης ών, την τε θάλασσαν την των 'Ρωμαίων πασαν ήμερώσας εν αυτή εκείνη διώλετο, καὶ χιλίων ποτὲ νεών, ώς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἄρξας ἐν πλοιαρίφ τινί, πρός τε τη Αἰγύπτφ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τρόπον τινα ου ποτε τον πατέρα ές τε έκείνην άμα καὶ ές την βασιλείαν κατήγαγε, 4 διεφθάρη δυ γάρ τοι καὶ τότε έτι στρατιώται 'Ρωμαΐοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου χάριν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου, διὰ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μῖσος, καταλειφθέντες ἐφρούρουν, οὖτος αύτου δι' αύτων εκείνων εκατέρων απεκτονέναι 5 έδοξε. Πομπήιος μεν δη κράτιστος πρότερον 'Ρωμαίων νομισθείς, ώστε καὶ 'Αγαμέμνονα αὐτὸν έπικαλεῖσθαι, τότε καθάπερ τις καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

² ἀσφαλέστατος Dind., ἀσφαλέστατα L.

¹ ἀνθρωπείου R. Steph , ἀνθρωπίου L.

³ νίκας πολλάς μέν R. Steph., νικήσας μέν πολέμων πολ-

⁴ τη supplied by R. Steph.

no complaint, but as soon as he perceived their plot BC. 48 and recognized that he would not be able to ward them off or escape, he veiled his face.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great, whereby was proved once more the weakness and the strange fortune of the human race. For, although he was not at all deficient in foresight, but had always been absolutely secure against any force able to do him harm, yet he was deceived; and although he had won many unexpected victories in Africa, and many, too, in Asia and Europe, both by land and by sea, ever since boyhood, yet now in his fifty-eighth year he was defeated without apparent reason. Although he had subdued the entire Roman sea, he perished on it; and although he had once been, as the saying is, "master of a thousand ships," 1 he was destroyed in a tiny boat near Egypt and in a sense by Ptolemy, whose father he had once restored from exile to that land and to his kingdom. The man whom Roman soldiers were then still guarding,-soldiers left behind by Gabinius as a favour from Pompey and on account of the hatred felt by the Egyptians for the young prince's father.—this very man seemed to have put him to death by the hands of both Egyptians Thus Pompey, who previously had and Romans. been considered the most powerful of the Romans, so that he even received the nickname of Agamemnon,2 was now butchered like one of the lowest of

¹ A reference to the Trojan expedition The actual number of ships under Pompey's command was 270 at the outset of the war with the pirates.

³ Plutarch (*Pomp.* 67, 3; Caes 41, 1) says that Domitius Ahenobarbus styled him Agamemnon and King of Kings in order to bring him into disfavour.

Αἰγυπτίων ἔσχατος, πρός τε τῷ Κασίῳ¹ ὅρει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ῷ ποτε τά τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπινίκια ἤγαγεν, ἐσφάγη, 6 ὥστε μηδὲν μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμολογηθῆναι· ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ λαμπρότατα πρὶν πράξας τότε τὰ ἀλγεινότατα ἔπαθε, καὶ ἐς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Κασσίους ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινος ὑποπτεύων πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς² Κασσίου οὐδενὸς ἐπεβουλεύθη, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ ὅρει τῷ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην ἔχοντι καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη. 7 τῶν δὲ δὴ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἑάλωσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ παῖς ἤ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡ μὲν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδείας τυχοῦσα ἀνεσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐς τὴν ᾿Αφρικὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γναῖον ἐκομίσθη· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διακεκρίδαται, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου πρόσρησιν ἀμφότεροι εἶχον.

6 Καῖσαρ δὲ ὡς τότε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ κατεπείγοντα διωκήσατο, τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα τά τε λοιπὰ τὰ ταύτῃ ἄλλοις τισὶ καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεδίωξε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς ᾿Ασίας κατὰ πύστιν αὐτοῦ προιὼν ³ ἤπείχθη, ἐνταῦθα δέ, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ² ὅπη πεπλευκὼς ἢν ἡπίστατο, ἐνδιέτριψεν. οὕτω δ᾽ οὖν ἐν τύχῃ πάντα αὐτῷ προεχώρει ὤστε καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν πορθμείῳ τινὶ περαιούμενος ἐνέτυχε μὲν τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου ναυτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ Λουκίου πλέοντι, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατα-

 $^{^1}$ Κασί φ v. Herw., κασσί ω ι L. 2 ἀνδρὸς Xiph., ἀνδρῶν L. 3 προϊὰν Leuncl., προσιὰν L.

the Egyptians themselves, not only near Mount BC 48 Casius but on the anniversary of the day on which he had once celebrated a triumph over Mithridates and the pirates. So even in this respect the two parts of his career were utterly contradictory: on that day of yore he had gamed the most brilliant success, whereas he now suffered the most grievous fate; again, following a certain oracle, he had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius, but instead of being the object of a plot by any man called Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain that had this name. Of his fellow-voyagers some were captured at once, while others escaped. among them his wife and son. His wife later obtained pardon and came back safely to Rome, while Sextus proceeded to Africa to his brother Gnaeus; these are the names by which they were distinguished, since they both bore the name of Pompey.

Caesar, when he had attended to pressing demands after the battle and had assigned Greece and the rest of that region to certain others to win over and reduce, set out himself in pursuit of Pompey. He hurried forward as far as Asia following information received about him, and there waited for a time, since no one knew which way he had sailed. Everything turned out favourably for him; for instance, while crossing the Hellespont in a kind of ferry-boat, he met Pompey's fleet sailing with Lucius Cassius in command, but so far from suffering any harm at their hands, he terrified them and won them over to his

3 πλήξας σφᾶς προσεποιήσατο. κὰκ τούτου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκείνη, μηδενὸς ἔτ' ἀνταίροντος, παρελάμβανε καὶ διφκει, χρημάτων μὲν ἐκλογήν, ὅσπερ εἶπον, ποιούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν μηδένα λυπῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργετῶν πάντας ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο. τοὺς γοῦν τελώνας πικρότατά σφισι χρωμένους ἀπαλλάξας, ἐς φόρου συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο.

Τ΄ Κάν τούτφ πυθόμενος τον Πομπήιον προς την Αἴγυπτον πλέοντα, καὶ δείσας μη προκατασχών 2 αὐτην αὖθις ἰσχύση, ἀφωρμήθη κατὰ τάχος. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε, τῆ δ΄ ᾿Αλεξανδρεία αὐτῆ μετ' ὀλίγων πολὺ προ τῶν ἄλλων, πρὶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἐλθεῖν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς ᾿Αλεξανδρέας θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτω εὐρών, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνορμισάμενος ἀνεῖχε μέχρις οὖ τήν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα 3 οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. οὕτω δὴ ¹ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἤπειρον θαρσούντως προσέσχεν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαβδούχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τινες τὰ ὅπλα ἀφηρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνωρμίσαντο αὖθις, ἔως πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες ἐπικατήχθησαν. 8 ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσε καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐ-

β ό δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλἦν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσε καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὀνομάζων, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ποτὲ ἀλλήλοις ἀνθυπουργήκεσαν ἀναριθμούμενος. τοῖς τε ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπως εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ side. Thereupon, meeting with no further resistance, he proceeded to take possession of the rest of that region and to regulate its affairs, levying a money contribution, as I have said, but otherwise doing no one any harm and even conferring benefits on all, so far as was possible. In any case he did away with the tax-gatherers, who had been abusing the people most cruelly, and he converted the amount accruing from the taxes into a joint payment of tribute.

Meanwhile he learned that Pompey was sailing to Egypt, and fearing that the other by occupying that country first might again become strong, he set out with all speed. And finding him no longer alive. with a few followers he sailed far in advance of the others to Alexandria itself before Ptolemy came from Pelusium. On discovering that the people of the city were in a tumult over Pompey's death he did not at once venture to go ashore, but put out to sea and waited till he saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy. Thereupon he confidently put in to land; the multitude, however, showed irritation at the sight of his lictors and he was glad to make his escape into the palace. Some of his soldiers had their weapons taken from them, and the rest accordingly put to sea again until all the ships had reached port. Now Caesar at the sight of Pompey's head wept and lamented bitterly, calling him countryman and son-in-law, and enumerating all the kindnesses they had shown each other. As for the murderers, far from admitting that he owed

όφείλειν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐκείνην κοσμήσαί τε καὶ εὐθετήσαι καὶ θάψαι τισὶν 2 ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτω ἔπαινον ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῆ προσποιήσει γέλωτα ὡφλίσκανε τῆς γαρ δυναστείας δείνως απ' αρχης εφιέμενος, και εκείνον και ως ανταγωνιστην και ως αντίπαλον άεί ποτε μισήσας, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτῶ 3 πάντα πράξας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε οὐκ ἐπ' άλλο τι παρασκευάσας η ίνα ἀπολομένου αὐτοῦ πρωτεύση, τότε τε ές την Αίγυπτον οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι έπειχθεὶς ἡ ἵνα αὐτόν, εἰ περιείη, προσκατεργάσαιτο, ποθείν τε αὐτὸν ἐπλάττετο καὶ ἀγανακτείν τῷ ὀλέθρω αὐτοῦ ἐσκήπτετο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ὑπεξηρημένου οί έκείνου καταλείπεσθαι 1 νομίζων, έν τη Αιγύπτω ένεχρόνισεν άργυρολογών καὶ τὰ τοῦ² Πτολεμαίου καὶ τὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας διάφορα διακρίνων πόλεμοι δὲ ἐν τούτφ ἔτεροι αὐτῷ παρεσκευά-2 σθησαν. ή τε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ήρξατο μεν εύθύς, επειδή πρώτον τόν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι

ἔμαθε, τῆς ³ πατρώας ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι (χρονιεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ στάσει καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν 'Ρωμαίων αὐτὰς περὶ αὑταῖς ἀναλώσειν ἢηλπισεν), εἴχετο δὲ καὶ τότε τῶν προκειμένων,

3 τηs Rk., τηs τε L.

ότι τε ἄπαξ έκεκίνητο καὶ ότι πόρρω τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντα ἐπύθετο, καὶ πολλά γε χωρία προκατέλαβε. κὰν τούτω καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, οί τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν αὐτήν σΦισι γνώμην ἔγοντες, καὶ

καταλείπεσθαι St , καταλιπέσθαι L.
 καὶ τὰ τοῦ R. Steph., καὶ κατὰ τοῦ L.

them any reward, he actually heaped reproaches BO 18 upon them; and he commanded that the head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried. For this he received praise, but for his hypocrisy he incurred ridicule. He had, of course, from the outset been very eager for dominion; he had always hated Pompey as his antagonist and rival, and besides all his other measures against him he had brought on this war with no other purpose than to secure this rival's ruin and his own supremacy; he had but now been hurrying to Egypt with no other end in view than to overthrow him completely if he should still be alive; yet he feigned to mourn his loss and made a show of vevation over his murder.

In the belief that now that Pompey was out of his way there was no longer any hostility left against him, he spent some time in Egypt levying money and deciding the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Meanwhile other wars were being prepared against him Egypt revolted, and Pharnaces, just as soon as he had learned that Pompey and Caesar were at variance, had begun to lay claim to his ancestral domain, since he hoped that they would waste a lot of time in their quarrel and use up the Roman forces upon each other; and he now still went ahead with his plans, partly because he had once made a beginning and partly because he learned that Caesar was far away, and he actually seized many points before the other's arrival. Meanwhile Cato and Scipio and the others who were of the same

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έμφύλιον καὶ ὀθνεῖον ἐν τῆ ᾿Αφρικῆ πόλεμον

ήγειραν.

10 ΄΄ Εσχε γάρ ούτως. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίφ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τά τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιτηρεῖν, ἄν τις διαβαίνη, καὶ τοὺς Παρθινοὺς κατείργειν, ἄν τι παρακινῶσι, καταλειφθεὶς τὸ 2 μεν πρῶτον εκείνοις επολέμει, ήττηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου την μεν "Ηπειρον έξέλιπεν, ές δε Κέρκυραν μετά τῶν ὁμογνωμονούντων οἱ κομισθείς ένταθθα τούς τε έκ της μάχης διαφυγόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονοῦντας ἐδέχετο. Κικέρων μεν γαρ και άλλοι τινές των βουλευτών 3 es την Ρώμην παραχρημα απηραν οί δε δη πλείους μετά τε τοῦ Λαβιήνου και μετά τοῦ 'Αφρανίου, ἄτε μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλπίδα, ό μεν ότι ηὐτομολήκει, ό δε ότι σωθείς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αδθίς οἱ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχόντων, πρός τε τὸν Κάτωνα ήλθον καλ ἐκεῖνον προστησάμενοι ἐπολέ-11 μουν. καλ μετὰ τοῦτο καλ ὁ Ὀκτάουιός σφισι προσεγένετο. ὡς γὰρ τότε τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐσέπλευσε καὶ τὸν Αντώνιον τὸν Γάιον συνέλαβεν, ἄλλων μέν τινων χωρίων ἐκράτησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ Σάλωνα, καίπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας, οὐχ 2 είλε. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούουτο, βοηθοῦντά σφισι τὸν Γαβίνιον ἔχοντες, καὶ τέλος μετά των γυναικών έπεκδραμόντες μέγα έργον είργάσαντο έκειναί τε γάρ τάς τε κόμας καθείσαι καὶ στολάς μελαίνας ἐνδυσάμεναι λαμπάδας τε λαβοῦσαι, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ 3 φοβερώτατον σχηματισάμεναι, τῷ τε στρατοπέδω τῷ πολιορκοῦντί σφας νυκτὸς μέσης προσέμιξαν, καὶ τούς προφύλακας ώς καὶ δαίμονές τινες έκ-

mind with them set on foot in Africa a struggle B.C. 48 that was at once a civil and a foreign war.

It came about in this way. Cato had been left behind at Dyrrachium by Pompey to keep an eye out for any forces from Italy which might try to cross over, and to repress the Parthini, in case they should begin any disturbance. At first he carried on war with the latter, but after Pompey's defeat he abandoned Epirus, and proceeding to Corcyra with those of the same mind as himself, he there received the men who had escaped from the battle and the rest who had the same sympathies. Cicero and a few other senators had set out for Rome at once. but the majority, including Labienus and Afranius, who had no hope in Caesar,-the one because he had deserted him, and the other because after having been pardoned by him he had again made war on him,-went to Cato, put him at their head, and continued the war. Later Octavius also joined them. After sailing into the Ionian Sea and arresting Gaius Antonius, he had conquered several places, but could not take Salonae, though he besieged it a very long time. For the inhabitants, having Gabinius to assist them, vigorously repulsed him and finally along with the women made a sortie and performed a remarkable deed. The women let down their hair and robed themselves in black garments, then taking torches and otherwise making their appearance as terrifying as possible, they assaulted the camp of the besiegers at midnight. They threw the outposts, who thought they were

πλήξασαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα ἀπανταχόθεν άμα ενέβαλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ επισπόμενοί σφισι πολλούς μὲν ταραττομένους πολλούς δὲ καὶ καθεύδουτας εφόνευσαν, καὶ εκεῖνό τε εὐθὺς κατέσχον, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον ἐν ῷ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος 4 ηὖλίζετο αὐτοβοεὶ εἶλον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ῥαστώνη τινὶ ἐγένοντο· διαφυγών γάρ πως αὐτοὺς δύναμίν τε αθθις ήθροισε, καὶ μάχη νικήσας προσήδρευε σφίσι. κάν τούτω τοῦ Γαβινίου νόσω τελευτήσαντος της τε θαλάσσης της έκει πάσης 5 ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαίνων πολλὰ αὐτῆς έκακούργει, μέχρις οὖ ή τε πρὸς 1 Φαρσάλω μάχη έγένετο, καὶ οί στρατιώται αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλευσάντων τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου σφίσι μετέστησαν, μηδὲ ές χείρας αὐτοίς έλθόντες. τότε γὰρ έρημωθείς των συμμάχων ές την Κέρκυραν άπεχώρησε.

Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος δὲ ὁ Γναῖος πρότερον μὲν τῶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ναυτικῶ περιπλέων τήν τε "Ήπειρον καλουμένην κατέτρεχε καὶ 'Ωρικὸν' ολίγου είλε, Μάρκου 'Ακιλίου' αὐτὸ κατέχον-·τος, καὶ τόν τε 4 ἔσπλουν τὸν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλοίοις λίθων γέμουσι χώσαντος, καὶ περί τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπί τε τῆς 2 ηπείρου καὶ ἐφ' ὁλκάδων ἐγείραντος, τούς τε γάρ λίθους τούς έν τοῖς σκάφεσιν έγκειμένους κολυμβηταίς ὑφύδροις διασκεδάσας, καὶ αὐτὰ έκεινα κουφισθέντα έλκύσας, τόν τε έσπλουν ηλευθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁπλίτας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα

¹ πρδs Dind , πρδs τώ L.

 ² [']Ωρικὸν Xyl., νωρικὸν L (so just below).
 ³ [']Ακιλίου Xyl., ἀκυιλίου L.
 ⁴ τόν τε R. Steph., τότε L.

⁵ χώσαντος Χυί., χώσαντες L. 6 δφύδροις Xyl., έφύδροις L.

spirits, into a panic, and then from all sides at once B.C. 48 hurled the fire within the palisade, and the men, following them, slew many while they were in confusion and many who were still asleep, promptly gained possession of the camp, and captured without a blow the harbour in which Octavius was lying. They were not, however, left in peace. For he escaped them somehow, gathered a force again, and after defeating them in battle besieged them. Meanwhile, as Gabinius had died of some disease, he gained control of the whole sea in that vicinity, and by making descents upon the land ravaged many districts. This lasted until the battle at Pharsalus. after which his soldiers, as soon as a force sailed against them from Brundsium, changed sides without even coming to blows with them. destitute of allies, Octavius retired to Corcyra.

Gnaeus Pompey first sailed about with the Egyptian fleet and overran the district called Epirus, almost capturing Oricum. The commander of the place, Marcus Acilius, had blocked up the entrance to the harbour by means of boats loaded with stones and about the mouth of it had raised towers on either side, both on the land and on freight-ships. Pompey, however, had divers scatter the stones that were in the vessels, and when the latter had been lightened, he dragged them out of the way, freed the passage, and then, after putting heavy-armed troops ashore

¹ M. Acilius Caninus.

τής χηλής ἐκβιβάσας ἐπεσέπλευσε,¹ καὶ τά τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τής πόλεως τὸ πολὸ 3 κατέκαυσεν. εἶλε δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν λοιπήν, εἰ μὴ τρωθεὶς δέος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνη παρέσχε. θεραπευθεὶς δ' οὖν 'Ωρικῷ μὲν οὐκέτι προσέβαλε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιφοιτῶν ἐπόρθει, καί ποτε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου μάτην, 4 ὥσπερ που καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐπείρασε. τέως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πυθόμενοι τοῦτο οἴκαδε ἀπέπλευσαν, οὕτω δὴ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἀφίκετο. 13 καὶ αὐτὸν Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐμιμήσατο, πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς 'Ιταλίας λυπήσας,

πολλαῖς δὲ μάχαις ἔν τε τῆ θαλάσση καὶ ἐν τῆ ηπείρω συχνούς νικήσας.

αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος συναγωνισταῖς καὶ συμβούλοις πρὸς πάντα χρώμενος ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς καὶ καταληψόμενος αὐτήν, ἔπλευσεν· οὐ γάρ πω 3 τὸν Πομπήιον τεθνεῶτα ἠκηκόει. καὶ Πάτρας μὲν κατέσχον, κἀνταῦθα ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Πετρέιον τόν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον³ προσέλαβον· Κυίντου δὲ δὴ Φουφίου Καλήνου μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστρατεύσαντός σφισιν ἐξανήχθησαν, καὶ ἐς Κυρήνην ἐλθόντες καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον μαθόντες οὐκέτι συνεφρό-4 νησαν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κάτων δι' ἀχθηδόνα τῆς

Προύχουτα μεν δη ² τον Κάτωνα άρετη σφών ίδόντες πολλοί προς αὐτον συγκατέφυγον, καί

τοῦ Καίσαρος δυναστείας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς δί

¹ ἐπεσέπλευσε Χyl , ἔπεισε πλεῦσαι L. 2 δὴ Βk., τοὶ L. 3 τόν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον Leunel., Πομπήιον τὸν Φαῦστον L.

on each half of the breakwater, he sailed in. He BC. 48 burned all the boats and most of the city, and would have captured the rest of it, had he not been wounded and caused the Egyptians to fear that he might die. When, now, his wound had been cured, he did not continue to assail Oricum, but journeved about pillaging various places and once vainly made an attempt upon Brundisium itself, as did some others. He was thus occupied for a time; but when his father had been defeated and the Egyptians on receipt of the news sailed home, he betook himself to Cato And his example was followed by Gaius Cassius, who had done very great mischief both in Italy and in Sicily and had overcome a number of opponents in many battles both on sea and on land.

Many, indeed, fled to Cato for refuge, since they saw that he excelled them in uprightness; and he, using them as helpers and counsellors in all matters, sailed to the Peloponnesus with the intention of occupying it, for he had not yet heard that Pompey was dead. They seized Patrae and there received among other accessions Petreius and Pompey's son-in-law, Faustus. Subsequently Quintus Fufius Calenus marched against them, whereupon they set sail, and coming to Cyrene, learned there of the death of Pompey. Their views were now no longer harmonious: Cato, through hatred of Caesar's

ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συγγνώμης, ἔς τε τὴν 'Αφρικὴν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔπλευσαν καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προσλαβόντες πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ 5 Καίσαρι ἔπραττον, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀποχωρήσαντες ἀπήλλαξαν ὡς που καὶ συνέτυχε σφίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παραχρῆμα ἐλθόντες, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ἀδείας

ἔτυχον.

14 ΄Ο δὲ δὴ Καλῆνος ἐπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ εἶλεν άλλα τε καί του Πειραιά άτε και ἀτείχιστου όντα. τὰς γὰρ ᾿Αθήνας, καίπερ πλεῖστα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας, οὐκ ήδυνήθη πρὸ τῆς τοῦ 2 Πομπηίου ήττης λαβείν τότε γαρ έθελονταλ αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ μηδὲν μνησικακήσας άθώους άφηκε, τοσούτον μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι πολλὰ άμαρτάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σώζοιντο, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐδήλου ὅτι σφῶν διά τε τούς προγόνους καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τήν τε 3 ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐφείσατο. ᾿Αθῆναι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ άλλα τὰ πλείω τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐθὺς τότε ώμολόγησαν αὐτῷ, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀντέσγον. πολλφ τε ύστερον χρόνφ τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δέ καὶ προδοσία ήλωσαν. ὅθενπερ φόνος τε αὐτῶν 4 πολύς εγένετο καὶ οί λοιποὶ ἐπράθησαν. ὁ μέντοι Καλήνος τοῦτο μέν, ίνα δή καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτοὺς τετιμωρησθαι δόξη, ἐποίησε· φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ παντελώς ή πόλις ἀπόληται, πρώτα μέν τοίς ἐπιτηδείοις σφᾶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀπέδοτο, ίν' έλευθερωθώσι.

domination, and some others in despair of receiving B.C. 48 pardon from him, sailed to Africa with the aimy, added Scipio to their number, and were as active as possible against Caesar; but the majority scattered, some of them retiring and escaping wherever they could, while the rest, among them Gaius Caesius, went to Caesar at once and received pardon.

Calenus had been sent by Caesar into Greece before the battle, and he captured among other places the Piraeus, owing to its being unwalled. Athens he had been unable to take, in spite of a great deal of damage he did to its territory, until the defeat of Pompey. The inhabitants then came over to him voluntarily, and Caesar, cherishing no resentment, let them go unharmed, merely remarking that in spite of their many offences they were saved by the dead This remark signified that it was on account of their ancestors and on account of their glory and excellence that he spared them. Accordingly Athens and most of the rest of Greece then at once made terms with him; but the Megarians in spite of this resisted and were captured only at a considerably later date, partly by force and partly by treachery. Therefore many of the inhabitants were slam and the survivors sold. Calenus took this course so that men might think that he had punished them according to their deserts; but since he feared that the city might perish utterly, he sold the captives in the first place to their relatives, and in the second place for a very small sum, so that they might regain their freedom.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐπί τε τὰς Πάτρας ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ αὐτάς, τόν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ προεκφοβήσας, κατέσχεν 15 ἐν ὧ δὲ ταῦτα εως εκαστα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἡ 'Ιβηρία καίπερ είρηνεύσασα εκινήθη. επειδή γάρ ό Λογγίνος ό Κύιντος πολλά και τότε αὐτούς έλυμαίνετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι τινὲς συνέστη-2 σαν ώς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες αὐτόν ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ τρωθείς διέφυγε κάκ τούτου πολλώ μείζω σφάς ήδίκει, συχνοί μεν Κορδουβήσιοι συχνοί δε καί στρατιώται, άτε καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γεγονότες, 3 έπανέστησαν αὐτῷ, Μᾶρκον Μάρκελλον Αἰσερυίνον τον ταμίαν προστησάμενοι. οὐ μην καί όλη τη γνώμη αὐτούς προσεδέξατο, άλλα τό τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων δρῶν καὶ τὴν ἔκβασίν σφων έφ' εκάτερα προσδεχόμενος επημφοτέριζε και δια μέσου πάντα και έλεγε και έπραττεν. ώστε, άν τε ο Καίσαρ άν τε καὶ ο Πομπήιος κρατήση, άμφοτέροις σφίσι συνηγωνίσθαι δόξαι. 4 Πομπηίω μεν γάρ, ότι τούς τε μεταστάντας πρός αὖτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ τῷ Λογγίνω τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττειν λέγοντι άντεπολέμησεν, έγαρίσατο, Καίσαρι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Λογγίνου νεωτερίζοντός τι, παραλαβών τούτους τε αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε καὶ ἐκεῖνον οὐκ εἴασε 5 πολεμωθήναι. καὶ τό γε όνομα τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγραψάντων ἀπήλειψεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τῷ μὲν τὰ έργα τῶν ὅπλων τῷ δὲ τὴν δόκησιν προβάλλων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κρατήσαντος γεγονότων

 $^{^{1}}$ προεκφοβήσας Leunel., προσεκφοβήσας L. 2 ταῦτα Rk., ταῦτά τε L.

After these achievements he marched upon Patrae BC 48 and occupied it easily, as he had already frightened Cato and his followers away. Now while these various operations were being carried on, there was an uprising in Spain, although the country had been at peace. For the Spaniards were at the time being subjected to many abuses by Quintus Longinus, and at first some few banded together to kill him; he was wounded but escaped, and after that proceeded to injure them a great deal more. Then a number of Cordubans and a number of soldiers who had formerly belonged to the Pompeian party rose against him, putting at their head Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, the quaestor The latter, however, did not accept their appointment with his whole heart, but seeing the uncertainty of events and looking for them to turn out either way, he played a double game, taking a neutral attitude in all that he said and did, so that whether Caesar or Pompev should prevail he might seem to have fought for the victor in either He favoured Pompey, on the one hand, by receiving those who had transferred their allegiance to him and by fighting against Longmus, who declared he was on Caesar's side; on the other hand, he did a kindness to Caesar in taking charge of the soldiers when, as he would say, Longinus was beginning a rebellion, and in keeping these men for him and not allowing their commander to become And when the soldiers inscribed the name of Pompey on their shields, he erased it, so that he might thereby plead with the one man the deeds done by the arms and with the other their apparent ownership, and by laying claim to the deeds

προσποιούμενος, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἔς τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἐς ἄλλους τινὰς ἀναφέρων, ἀσφαλής εἴη. 16 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι παρασχὸν αὐτῷ παντελῶς τοῦ Λογγίνου τῷ πλήθει κρατήσαι, οὐκ ἡθέλησεν, άλλ' ές τε ἔνδειξιν καὶ ἐς παρασκευὴν ὧν ἐβούλετο προάγων τὰ πράγματα, ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισὶ τὰ ἀμφίλογα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν οἶς ἡλαττώθη καὶ ἐν οἶς ἐπλεονέκτησέ τι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τὰ μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε, 2 τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔτεροι, προτείνασθαι δυνηθήναι. ό μεν ούτω διαγαγών μέχρις οὖ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ενίκησε, παραχρήμα μεν ες όργην αὐτῷ ¹ ἢλθε καί ύπερωρίσθη, έπειτα δὲ κατῆλθε καὶ ἐτιμήθη· Λογγίνος δέ, καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ διὰ πρεσβείας τῶν Ἰβήρων, της τε ἀρχης έξέπεσε, καὶ οἴκαδε άνακομιζόμενος έφθάρη πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ "Ιβηρος έκβολαίς.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω ἐγίγνετο· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῆ 'Ρώμη, τέως μὲν ἔν τε ἀμφιλόγω² καὶ ἐν μετεώρω τά τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου πράγματα ἢν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντες τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπό τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τῆς συνούσης σφίσι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐσπού-2 δαζον, καὶ εἴτε που κρατήσας ἠγγέλθη, ἔχαιρον, εἴτε καὶ πταίσας, ἐλυποῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς οἱ δὲ πλαστῶς ἑκάτερον· καὶ γὰρ κατάσκοποί σφων καὶ κατήκοοι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐγίγνετο παρατηροῦντες, πολλοὶ περιενόστουν· ³ ἰδία δὲ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τῶν φανερῶν οἱ τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου προ-

¹ αὐτῷ Xyl., αὐτῶν L. 2 τε ἀμφιλόγω Bk., τῶι ἀμφιλόγωι L.

that turned out to be in behalf of the victor and by B.C. 48 laying upon necessity or upon other persons the blame for the contrary events he might be on the safe side. Consequently, although he had the opportunity of utterly defeating Longmus by his superior numbers, he refused, but by managing his affairs so as to create appearances and to carry out his designs, he put the responsibility for his questionable acts upon others. Thus both in his reverses and in his successes he could make the plea that he was acting equally in behalf of the same person in the one case he would urge that he had, or had not, done the thing himself, and in the other case that others had or had not been responsible. He went on in this way until Caesar actually conquered, and though at the moment he incurred his anger and was banished, yet later he was restored and honoured. Longinus, however, being denounced by the Spamards through an embassy, was deprived of his office, and while on his way home perished near the mouths of the Iberus.

These events were occurring abroad. In Rome, as long as the issue between Caesar and Pompey was doubtful and unsettled, the people all ostensibly favoured Caesar, because of his troops that were in their midst and because of his colleague Servilius. Whenever a victory of his was reported, they rejoiced, and whenever a reverse, they grieved, some sincerely and some feignedly in each case; for there were many spies and eavesdroppers prowling about, observing all that was said and done on such occasions. But privately the talk and actions of those who detested Caesar and preferred Pompey's

αιρούμενοι καὶ έλεγον καὶ ἐποίουν, κάκ τούτου τα τε άγγελλόμενα 1 κατά τὸ πρόσφορόν σφισιν άμφότεροι λαμβάνοντες τοίς μεν δεδιότως τοίς δε 4 θαρσούντως έχρωντο, καὶ οἶα πολλών καὶ ποικίλων ἔν τε τῆ αὐτη ημέρα καὶ ἐν τη αὐτη ὥρα πολλάκις λογοποιουμένων χαλεπώτατα διετίθεντο καὶ γὰρ ήδοντο καὶ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἐθάρ-18 σουν και έφοβοῦντο διὰ βραχυτάτου. ἀγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς Φαρσαλικῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολύ μὲν ηπίστουν ούτε γάρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ κοινῷ τι ἐπέστειλεν, οκυήσας δημοσία χαίρων επί τοιαύτη νίκη φανήναι (διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπινίκια αὐτής ἔπεμθε). και δ παράλογος πρός τε την παρασκευην αὐτῶν 2 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα πολύς ἐφαίνετο, ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπίστευσάν ποτε, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Σύλλου τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι έστώσας ἀνείλου, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τότε ἔπραξαν. συχνοί μέν γάρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι, συχνοί δε καί τον Πομπήιον, μή πως άναμαχέσηται, φοβούμενοι, τῶ τε Καίσαρι καὶ ἐκεῖνο 2 3 ίκανῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐπαραίτητον 3 έπ' αὐτῶ γενήσεσθαί σφισι προσεδόκων. έπει μέντοι και ἀπέθανεν, όψε μεν και τοῦτο, και ού πρότερον πρίν τον δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα ίδειν, ἐπίστευσαν (ἐνεγέγλυπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρό-19 παια τρία, ώσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου), ὡς δ' οὖν ἐτεθνήκει, φανερώς τε ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπήνουν τον δε ελοιδόρουν, και παν ο τι ποτε εξευρείν έδύναντο έσηγούντο δοθήναι τῷ Καίσαρι.

¹ ἀγγελλόμενα Xyl , ἀπολλόμενα L.

² ἐκεῖνο ΧνΙ., ἐκείνωι L.

³ εὐπαραίτητον Bs., ἀπαραίτητον L.

side were the very opposite of their public expressions. BC. 48 Hence, as both sides received the various reports in the light of their own advantage, they were inspired sometimes with fear and sometimes with boldness. and inasmuch as many diverse rumours would often be going about on the same day and at the same hour, their position was a most trying one; for they were pleased and distressed, bold and fearful, all within the briefest space of time. When the battle of Pharsalus was announced, they were long incredulous. For Caesar sent no despatch to the government, hesitating to appear to rejoice publicly over such a victory, for which reason also he celebrated no triumph; and furthermore the event was clearly very improbable in view of the relative equipment of the two forces and the hopes entertained. But when at last they gave the story credence, they removed the images of Pompey and of Sulla that stood upon the rostra, but did nothing further at the time. Many, indeed, did not wish to do even this, and many also, fearing that Pompey might renew the strife, regarded this as quite enough for Caesar and expected that it would be a fairly simple matter to placate Pompey on account of it. Even when he had died, they did not believe it for a long time, not, in fact, until they saw his seal-ring that had been sent; it had three trophies carved on it, as had that of Sulla. So when he was really dead, at last they openly praised the victor and abused the vanquished, and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise should be given to Caesar. And not only in this

respect was there great rivalry among practically B.C. 48 all the foremost men, who were eager to outdo one another in fawning upon him, but also in voting such measures. By their shouts and by their gestures they all, as if Caesar were present and looking on. showed the very greatest zeal and thought that in return for it they would get immediately—as if they were doing it to please him at all and not from necessity-one an office, another a presthood, and a third some pecuniary reward. I shall omit those honours which had either been voted to some others previously-images, crowns, front seats, and things of that kind-or which, while novel and proposed now for the first time, were not confirmed by Caesar, for fear that I might become wearsome, were I to enumerate them all. This same plan I shall follow in my subsequent account, adhering the more strictly to it, as the honours proposed continually grew more numerous and more absurd. Only such as had some special and extraordinary importance and were confirmed will be related

They granted him, then, permission to do whatever he wished to those who had favoured Pompey's cause, not that he had not already received this right from himself, but in order that he might seem to be acting with some show of legal authority. They appointed him arbiter of war and peace with all mankind—using the conspirators in Africa as a pretext—without the obligation even of making any communication on the subject to the people or the senate. This,

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που καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὶν ἐπ' ἐκείνω ἄτε καὶ δύναμιν τηλικαύτην έχουτι· τους γοῦν πολέμους ους έπολέμησε πάντας όλίγου καθ' ξαυτον άνείλετο. όμως δ' οὖν αὐτῷ (πολῖταί τε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς έτι δοκείν είναι ήθελον) ταθτά τε ούτως έψηφίσαντο καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἃ ί καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἔχειν 3 έδύνατο. ὕπατός τε γὰρ ἔτη πέντε ἐφέξῆς γενέσθαι καὶ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἐς ἕκμηνον ἀλλί ές ενιαυτον όλον λεχθήναι έλαβεν, τήν εξουσίαν των δημάρχων διά βίου ώς είπειν προσέθετο συγκαθέζεσθαί τε γάρ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν βάθρων καὶ ἐς τἆλλα συνεξετάζεσθαί 4 σφισιν, δ μηδενὶ ἐξῆν, εὕρετο.² αἴ τε ³ ἀρχαι-ρεσίαι πᾶσαι, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναβληθεῖσαι ἐπ' ἐξόδφ τοῦ ἔτους ἐτελέσθησαν. τάς τε ήγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόφ τοις μεν υπάτοις αυτοι δηθεν εκλήρωσαν, τοις δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀκληρωτὶ δοῦναι έψηφίσαντο ές τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ές τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὖθις παρὰ τὰ δεδογμένα 5 σφίσιν ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ ἔτερον δέ τι, εἰθισμένον μέν γίγνεσθαι, έν δὲ δὴ τῆ τοῦ καιροῦ διαφθορά καὶ ἐπίφθονον καὶ νεμεσητὸν ὄν, ἔγνωσαν τοῦ γαρ πολέμου τοῦ πρός τε του Ἰόβαν καὶ πρὸς τους 'Ρωμαίους τους μετ' αυτου πολεμήσαντας, δυ δ Καΐσαρ οὐδέπω τότε οὐδ' ὅτι γενήσοιτο ηπίστατο, πέμψαι τινά αὐτῶ νικητήρια ώς κεκρατηκότι προσέταξαν.

 $^{^1}$ å added by Xyl. 2 єїρετο R. Steph., εїρητο L. 3 τε Bk., τε γὰρ L.

of course, also lay in his power before, inasmuch as he BC 48 had so large an armed force; at any rate the wars he had fought he had undertaken on his own authority in nearly every case. Nevertheless, because they wished still to appear to be free and independent citizens, they voted him these rights and everything else which it was in his power to have even against their will. Thus he received the privilege of being consul for five consecutive years and of being chosen dictator, not for six months, but for an entire year, and he assumed the tribunician authority practically for life; for he secured the right of sitting with the tribunes upon the same benches and of being reckoned with them for other purposes—a privilege which was permitted to no one. All the elections except those of the plebs now passed into his hands, and for this reason they were delayed till after his arrival and were held toward the close of the year.1 In the case of the governorships in subject territory the citizens pretended to allot themselves those which fell to the consuls, but voted that Caesar should give the others to the practors without the casting of lots; for they had gone back to consuls and practors again contrary to their decree. And they also granted another privilege, which was customary, to be sure, but in the corruption of the times might cause hatred and resentment: they decreed that Caesar should hold a triumph for the war against Juba and the Romans who fought with him, just as if he had been the victor, although, as a matter of fact, he had not then so much as heard that there was to be such a war.

¹ The year 47, in which Caesar came to Rome, is here meant, or else Dio has made an error.

Ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη· 21 καὶ ὅ τε Καῖσαρ τὴν δικτατορίαν παραχρήμα, καίπερ έξω της Ίταλίας ών, υπέστη, και του 'Αντώνιον μηδε έστρατηγηκότα ἵππαρχον προελόμενος, καὶ εἶπε καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ὕπατος, καίτοι τῶν οἰωνιστῶν σφοδρότατα ἀντειπόντων μηδενὶ έξειναι πλείω του έξαμήνου χρόνον ίππαρχησαι. 2 άλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτω πολύν ὦφλίσκανον, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν δικτάτορα ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια λεχθήναι γνόντες, περὶ 22 δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἱππάρχου ἀκριβολογούμενοι· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίλιος 1 δ Μάρκος και άπώλετο τολμήσας τὰ περί τῶν δανεισμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁρισθέντα, καθάπερ ήττημένου τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφθαρμένου. λῦσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν 2 Καμπανίαν έκταράξας. οδτος γάρ έπραξε μέν2 άνὰ πρώτους τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, διὸ 3 καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη οργισθείς δὲ ὅτι τε μὴ ἠστυνόμησεν καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρεβώνιος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ οὐ κληρωτός, ώσπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλ' αίρετὸς ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν προεκρίθη, 3 ήναντιούτο πρός πάντα τῷ συνάρχοντι καὶ οὕτ' άλλο τι των ἐπιβαλλόντων οί ποιείσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν, οὔτε τὰς δίκας κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος νόμους τελείσθαι συνεχώρει, καὶ προσέτι τοίς όφείλουσί τι βοηθήσειν έπὶ τοὺς δεδανεικότας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκοῦσι τὸ ἐνοίκιον ἀφή-4 σειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. προσθέμενος δὲ ἐκ τούτου

Καίλιος Χyl., καικίλιος L.
 μèν added by Bk. following Rk.

² μèν added by Bk. following Rk. ⁸ διὸ Bk., διὰ L. 148

In this way these measures were voted and B.C 48 ratified. Caesar entered upon the dictatorship at once, although he was outside of Italy, and chose Antony, although he had not yet been practor, as his master of horse; and the consul proposed the latter's name also, although the augurs very strongly opposed him, declaring that no one might be master of the horse for more than six months. this course they brought upon themselves a great deal of ridicule, because, after having decided that the dictator himself should be chosen for a year, contrary to all precedent, they were now splitting hairs about the master of the horse. Marcus Caelius 1 actually lost his life because he dared to set aside the laws established by Caesar regarding loans, assuming that their author had been defeated and had perished, and because as a result he stirred up Rome and Campania. He had been among the foremost in carrying out Caesar's wishes, for which reason he had been appointed practor; but he became angry because he had not been made practor urbanus, and because his colleague Trebonius had been preferred before him for this office, not by lot, as had been the custom, but by Caesar's choice. Hence he opposed his colleague in everything and would not let him perform any of the duties devolving upon him. He not only would not consent to his pronouncing judgments according to Caesar's laws, but he also gave notice to such as owed anything that he would assist them against their creditors, and to all who dwelt in other people's houses that he would release them from payment of the rent. Having by this course gained a considerable following, he set

¹ M. Caelius Rufus.

συχνούς ἐπῆλθε μετ' αὐτῶν τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ, κἂν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα ἠλλάξατο καὶ διέφυγέ σφας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ. διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτου νόμον ἰδίᾳ ἐξέθηκε, προῖκά τε πᾶσιν οἰκεῖν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ χρέα ¹ ἀποκόπτων.

23 'Ο οὖν Σερουίλιος στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἐς Γαλατίαν κατὰ τύχην παριόντας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῆ παρ' αὐτῶν φρουρῷ συναγαγῶν προέθηκε γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ κυρωθέντος μὲν μηδενὸς (δήμαρχοι γὰρ ἐκώλυσαν) συγγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόξαντος ἐκέλευσε τοῦς ὑπηρέταις καθελεῦν τὰ πινάκια. ἐπειδή τε ὁ Καίλιος ἐκείνους τε ἀπήλασε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν

2 ύπηρέταις καθελείν τὰ πινάκια. ἐπειδή τε ὁ Καίλιος ἐκείνους τε ἀπήλασε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὕπατον ἐς θόρυβον κατέστησε, συνῆλθον αὖθις φραξάμενοι τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως τῷ Σερουιλίῳ, ὥσπερ ἄνω μοι πολ-

24 δίφρον αὐτοῦ συνέτριψεν ὁ δὲ ὀργὴν μὲν πολλὴν² καθ' ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο, δεδιὼς δὲ μὴ καὶ κολασθῆ (δύναμιν γὰρ ἀξιόμαχον ἐν τῆ πόλει εἰχεν) ἐς Καμπανίαν πρὸς Μίλωνα νεωτερίζοντά

2 τι ἀπάραι ἔγνω. ἐκείνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ μόνος τῶν φευγόντων οὐ κατήχθη πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν βίου δεομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ δεδιότας, συλλέξας τήν τε χώραν ἐκακούργει

¹ χρέα Χyl., χρύσεα L. 2 πολλήν R. Steph., πολύ L.

upon Trebonius with their aid and would have slain B.C. 48 him, had the other not managed to change his dress and escape in the crowd. After this failure Caelius privately issued a law in which he granted everybody the use of houses free of rent and annulled all debts.

Servilius consequently sent for some soldiers who chanced to be going by on the way to Gaul, and after convening the senate under their protection he proposed a measure in regard to the situation. No action was taken, since the tribunes prevented it, but the sense of the meeting was recorded and Servilius then ordered the court officers to take down the offending tablets. When Caelius drove these men away and even involved the consul himself in a tumult. they convened again, still protected by the soldiers, and entrusted to Servilius the guarding of the city, a procedure concerning which I have often spoken before. After this he would not permit Caelius to do anything in his capacity as praetor, but assigned the duties pertaining to his office to another practor, debarred him from the senate, dragged him from the rostra while he was delivering some tirade or other, and broke his chair in pieces. Caelius was very angry with him for each of these acts, but since Servilius had a body of troops in town that matched his own, he was afraid that he might be punished, and so decided to set out for Campania to join Milo, who was beginning a rebellion. For Milo, when he alone of the exiles was not restored by Caesar, had come to Italy, where he gathered a large crowd of men, some in want of a livelihood and others who feared

καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ τῆ Καπύη 3 προσέβαλλε. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Καίλιος ἀφορμησαι έθελήσας ώς 1 μετ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὅ τι δύναιτο τον Καίσαρα, λυπήση, έπειτ' έπειδη μήτε έκ τοῦ προφανούς εκδημησαί εδύνατο (παρετηρείτο γάρ) μήτ' αὖ ἐκδρᾶναι ἐτόλμα διά τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλφ πλείω έν τε τφ σχήματι καλ έν τφ ονόματι τῷ τἦς στρατηγίας ὧν καταπράξειν ἤλπιζε, τῷ τε ύπάτω προσήλθε και παρητείτο αὐτόν, λέγων καλ πρός του Καίσαρα ἀπελθεῖν βούλεσθαι. 4 ύποτοπήσας οὖν ἐκείνος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψε μέν οἱ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ότι πολύς ενέκειτο τό τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα έπικαλούμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν έπείγεσθαι σκηπτόμενος, συνέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῶ δήμαρχόν τινα, ίν' εί τι νεοχμῶσαι τολμήσειε 25 κωλυθείη. ώς δὲ ἐν τῆ Καμπανία ἐγένοντο, καὶ δ τε Μίλων πταίσας πρὸς τῆ Καπύη ἐς τὰ Τιφατίνα 2 όρη κατεπεφεύγει και ο Καίλιος οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προυχώρει, δείσας δ δήμαρχος οίκαδε 2 ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ήθέλησε. προπυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Σερουίλιος τῷ μὲν Μίλωνι πόλεμον ἐν τῆ βουλῆ ἐπήγγειλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίλιον ὑπομεῖναι μεν έν τῷ προαστείω, μὴ καὶ ταράξη τι, ἐκέ-. λευσεν, οὖ μέντοι διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἄτε καὶ στρατηγούντα έποιήσατο. ἀπέδρα τε οὖν καὶ 3 πρὸς τὸν Μίλωνα ἠπείγετο. κὰν ἔπραξέ τι ταραχώδες, εἰ ζώντα αὐτὸν ευρήκει. νῦν δὲ ἐκ της Καμπανίας έκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ᾿Απουλία Φθαρέντος, ές τε την Βρεττίαν 3 ηλθεν ώς ενταῦθά

¹ &s Dind., ὅστε L. ² Τιφατῖνα Dind., τιφατνινὰ L ³ Βρεττίαν Χyl., βρεττανίαν L.

some punishment, and proceeded to ravage the B.C 48 country, assailing Capua and other cities. To him, then, Caelius wished to betake himself, in order that with his aid he might do Caesar all possible harm. He was watched, however, and could not leave the city openly; and he did not venture to escape secretly because, among other reasons, he expected to accomplish a great deal more by using the dress and the title of his praetorship. At last, therefore, he approached the consul and asked him for leave of absence, even saying that he wished to proceed to Caesar. The other, though he suspected his intention, still allowed him to do this, particularly because he was very insistent, invoking Caesar's name and pretending that he was eager to submit his defence; but he sent a tribune with him, so that if he should attempt any rebellious act he might be held in check. When they reached Campania, and found that Milo, after a defeat near Capua, had taken refuge on Mount Tifata, and Caelius gave up his plan of going farther, the tribune was alarmed and wished to bring him back home. Servilius, learning of this in time, declared war upon Milo in the senate and gave orders that Caelius should remain in the suburbs, so that he might not stir up any trouble; nevertheless, he did not keep him under strict surveillance, because the man was a practor. Thus Caelius made his escape and hastened to Milo, and he would certainly have created some disturbance had he found him alive; but as it was, Milo had been driven from Campania and had perished in Apulia. Caelius, therefore, went to Bruttium, hoping to form some league in

γέ τι συστήσων, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ποιῆσαί τι λόγου άξιον ἀπώλετο συστραφέντες γάρ οι τὰ τοῦ

Καίσαρος πράττοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν.

Καὶ οι μεν ούτως ἀπέθανον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ 26 ήσυχία παρά τοῦτο ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλά και δεινά συνηνέχθη, ώσπερ που και τά τέρατα προεδήλωσεν. έκείνω τε γάρ τῷ ἔτει τελευτῶντι ἄλλα τέ τινα συνέβη, καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν τῶ Καπιτωλίω παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἰδρύθησαν. 2 και 1 (ἐτύγχανε γάρ ἱερὰ Ἰσιδι ἐνταῦθα τότε γιγνόμενα) έδοξε γνώμη των μάντεων πάντα αθθις τά τε έκείνης καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος τεμενίσματα κατασκάψαι· γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ Ἐνυεῖόν τι² λαθόν σφας προσκαθηρέθη, καὶ έν αὐτῷ κεράμια ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν μεστὰ 3 εύρέθη. τῷ τε ἐχομένω σεισμός τε ἰσχυρὸς έγένετο καί βύας ώφθη, κεραυνοί τε ές τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν ές τε τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος κήπους κατέσκηψαν, κάνταθθα ἵππος τις τῶν οὐκ ἡμελη-4 μένων ἀπέθανεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον αὐτόματον ἀνεώχθη. ποὸς δὲ τούτοις αἷμά τε ἐξ έργαστηρίου σιτοποιού προχυθέν ἀφίκετο πρός νεων ετερον Τύχης, ην έκ τοῦ πάντα τά τε ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς και τὰ κατόπιν και ἐφορᾶν καὶ έκλογίζεσθαι χρηναί τινα, μηδε έπιλανθάνεσθαι έξ οίων οίος έγένετο, καὶ ίδρύσαντο καὶ ἐπεκάλεσαν τρόπον τινά ούκ εὐαφήγητον "Ελλησι. 5 καὶ βρέφη τινὰ τὰς ἀριστερὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χείρας έχοντα έγεννήθη, ώστε έκ τε των άλλων

καὶ supplied by Reim.
 Ἐνυεῖόν τι R. Steph., ἐνυιόντι L.

that district at any rate, and there he perished before BC.48 accomplishing anything of importance; for those who favoured Caesar banded together and killed him.

So these men died, but that did not bring quiet to Rome. On the contrary, many dreadful events took place, as, indeed, omens had indicated beforehand. Among other things that happened toward the end of that year bees settled on the Capitol beside the statue of Hercules. Sacrifices to Isis chanced to be going on there at the time, and the soothsayers gave their opinion to the effect that all precincts of that goddess and of Serapis should be razed to the ground once more. In the course of their demolition a shrine of Bellona was unwittingly destroyed and in it were found jars full of human flesh. The following year a violent earthquake occurred, an owl was seen, thunderbolts descended upon the Capitol and upon the temple of the Public Fortune, as it was called, and into the gardens of Caesar, where a horse of no small value was destroyed by them, and the temple of Fortune opened of its own accord. In addition to this, blood issued from a bake-shop and flowed to another temple of Fortune—that Fortune whose statue, on account of the fact that a man must needs observe and consider everything that lies before his eyes as well as behind him and must not forget from what beginnings he has become what he is, they had set up and named in a way not easy to describe to Greeks.1 Also some infants were born holding their left hands to their heads, so that while

¹ The reference is to Fortuna Respiciens. For her many different attributes see Roscher, Lex. der griech. und rom. Mythologie, i p. 1513 Plutarch called her τύχη ἐπωτρεφομένη, a name apparently unknown to Dio.

μηδεν ύγιες ύποπτεύεσθαι, καὶ εκ τούτων μάλιστα τὴν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κατὰ τῶν προτετιμημένων ἐπανάστασιν τούς τε μάντεις προειπεῖν καὶ τὸν

δημον προσδέχεσθαι.

Ταθτα μεν ούτως ύπο του δαιμονίου προδεινθέντα ἐτάραττεν αὐτούς ουνεπελάβετο δέ σφισι τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δεινὴ καὶ ἀήθης ἔν τε τῆ νουμηνία καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολύ 2 γενομένη. ΰπατος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς οὐδέπω ἢν, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀντώνιος τῆς μὲν ἐσθῆτος ένεκα (τῆ γὰρ περιπορφύρω ἐχρῆτο) καὶ ἡαβδούχων (τους γάρ εξ μόνους είχε) του τε την βουλην άθροίζειν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρείχετο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει δ² παρέζωστο καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν συνόντων οἱ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς τε ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅτι 3 μάλιστα τὴν μουαρχίαν ἐνεδείκνυτο· καὶ γὰρ άρπαγαὶ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ σφαγαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ἦν οὐ τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεπώτατον, άλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πολύ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα ὑπωπτεύετο ὅπου γὰρ ὁ ἵππαρχος οὐδὲ ἐν ταΐς πανηγύρεσι τὸ ξίφος κατετίθετο (τὰς γάρ πλείους ταις του Καίσαρος παρασκευαις 4 ἐπετέλεσεν ολίγας γάρ τινας καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι έποίησαν), τίς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν δικτάτορα ύπετόπησεν; εί γάρ τις καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ, ὑφ' ἦς πολλῶν καὶ ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἐπέφειστο, ἐνενόει, ἀλλ' οὐτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούς τε έφιεμένους άρχης και τούς καταπράξαντας αὐτὴν μένοντας ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀλλοιω-28 θήσεσθαι προσεδόκων. έλυποῦντό τε οὖν, καὶ

¹ τηs Turn., οὐδέπω L. 2 3 Reim., & L.

no good was looked for from the other signs, from this B0 48 especially an uprising of inferiors against superiors was both foretold by the soothsayers and expected

by the people.

These portents, thus revealed by Heaven, disturbed them; and their fear was augmented by the very appearance of the city, which had become strange and unfamiliar at the beginning of the year and continued so for a long time. For there was as yet no consul or practor, and while Antony, in so far as his costume went, which was the purple-bordered toga, and his lictors, of whom he had only the usual six, and his convening of the senate, furnished some semblance of the republic, yet the sword with which he was girded, and the throng of soldiers that accompanied him, and his very actions in particular indicated the existence of a monarchy. In fact many robberies, outrages, and murders took place. And not only was the existing situation most distressing to the Romans, but they suspected Caesar of intending far more and greater deeds of violence. For when the master of the horse never laid aside his sword even at the festivals, who would not have been suspicious of the dictator himself? Most of these festivals, by the way, Antony gave at Caesar's expense, although the tribunes also gave a few. Even if any one stopped to think of Caesar's goodness, which had led him to spare many enemies, even such as had opposed him in battle, nevertheless, seeing that men who have gained an office do not stick to the principles that guided them when striving for it, they expected that he, too, would change his course. They were distressed, therefore, and discussed the

πολλά πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ ἀσφάλειά τις ην, διελάλουν. οὐ γάρ που καὶ πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς συγγίγνεσθαι εδύναντο καὶ γὰρ οι πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντές 1 τινων είναι, συγγενείς τε έτεροι, διέβαλλόν 2 σφας, τὰ μὲν παρατρέποντες τὰ δὲ καὶ 2 παντάπασι καταψευδόμενοι. ὅθεν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ κατά τοῦτο οὐχ ἡκιστα ἐκακοπάθουν, ὅτι μήτε προσολοφύρασθαι μήτ' ἐπικοινῶσαι ἔχοντες οὐδ' 3 άπαλλαγηναί ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐδύναντο. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς δμοπαθεῖς συνουσία ἔφερέ τινα αὐτοῖς 3 κούφισιν, καί τις ἀσφαλῶς ἐκλαλήσας τέ τι καὶ αντακούσας οξα έπασχον ράων εγίγνετο ή δε δή πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοήθεις ἀπιστία καθείργνυ τε ἐν ταις ψυχαις αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πλειον αὐτὰς ἐξέκαε, μήτ' ἀποφυγὴν 4 μήτ' ἀνάπαυσίν τινα 4 λαμβανούσας. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατεχόμενα ἔνδον τὰ παθήματά σφας τηρείν, καὶ εὐλογείν αὐτὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν, έορτάζειν τε καὶ βουθυτείν εὐθυμείσθαί τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡναγκάζοντο.

29 Οὔτω μὲν οἱ 怜ωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῆ πόλει τότε ὅντες διετίθεντο· ὥσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντωνίου κακοῦσθαι, Λούκιός τέ τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας δήμαρχοι ἐστασίασαν. οὖτος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, διὸ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῆ δημαρχία 2 μετέστη, συνηγωνίζετο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγε μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνων προίστασθαι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὁμοίου

J oὐδ' Pflugk, οὕτ' L.

¹ καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντες Bs., κὰν γὰρ πάνυ φίλοι ἐδόκουν L.
² διέβαλλόν R. Steph., διέβαλόν L.

⁴ μητ' ἀποφυγην Cary, μηταποραην L. 5 διδ Rk., καὶ διδ L 6 προίστασθαι Η. Steph., προσίστασθαι L.

matter with one another at length, at least those B.C 48 who were safe in so doing, for they could not be intimate with any and every one with impunity. For those who seemed to be one's very good friends and others who were relatives would slander one, perverting some statements and telling downright hes on other points. And so it was that the rest found herein the chief cause of their distress, that, since they were unable either to lament or to share their views with others, they could not so much as give their feelings vent. For, while it is true that intercourse with those similarly afflicted lightened their burden somewhat, and the man who could safely utter and hear in return something of what the citizens were undergoing felt easier, yet their distrust of such as were not of like habits with themselves confined their vexation within their own hearts and inflamed them the more, as they could obtain neither escape nor relief Indeed, in addition to having to keep their sufferings shut up within their own breasts, they were compelled to praise and admire their treatment, as also to celebrate festivals, perform sacrifices, and appear happy over it all.

This was the condition of the Romans in the city at that time. And, as if it were not sufficient for them to be abused by Antony, one Lucius Trebellius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, tribunes, fell to quarrelling. The latter championed the cause of the debtors, to which class he belonged, and had therefore changed from the ranks of the patricians to the plebs, in order to secure the tribuneship. The former claimed to represent the nobles, but issued

αὐτῷ καὶ γράμματα έξετίθει καὶ σφαγαῖς έχρῆτο.1 ταραχή τε οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλὴ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ δπλα πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐωρᾶτο, καίτοι τῶν τε βουλευτῶν ἀπαγορευσάντων μηδέν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως καινοτομηθήναι, καὶ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου μηδένα εν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτην ὁπλοφορεῖν. 3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσήκουον, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐποίουν, τρίτη στάσις τοῦ τε 'Αντωνίου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐγένετο. ἵνα γαρ και παρ' αὐτης τά τε ὅπλα και την έξουσίαν τὴν ἀπ'² αὐτῶν, ή φθάσας ἐχρῆτο, προστεθεῖσθαι νομισθείη, στρατιώτας τε έντὸς τοῦ τείχους τρέφειν καλ την πόλιν διά φυλακής μετά τῶν ἄλλων 4 δημάρχων ποιείσθαι έλαβε. κάκ τούτου 'Αντώνιος μέν εν νόμφ δή τινι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμει ἔδρα, Δολοβέλλας δὲ καὶ Τρεβέλλιος ὄνομα μὲν βιαίου πράξεως είχου, ἀντηγωνίζουτο δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐκείνφ, ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ της βουλης είληφότες.

30 Κάν τούτφ 'Αντώνιος πυθόμενος τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἃ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς καὶ ἐφεψόμενός σφισι προέπεμψε,³ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς δρᾶν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μή τι νεωτερίσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πολίαρχον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξας, δ μηπώποτε πρὸς ίππάρχου ἐγεγόνει, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξώρμησεν. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι οἱ ἀντιστασιάζοντές σφισι τοῦ τε Λουκίου διὰ τὸ γῆρας κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, μέχρις οὖ τὸν Καίσαρα τά

 $^{^1}$ ἐχρῆτο R Steph., ἐχρᾶτο L 2 ἀπ' Rk., ἐπ' L 3 προσέπεμψε R. Steph., προσέπεμψε L.

edicts and had recourse to murders no less than the notes other. This, too, naturally resulted in great turmoil and many weapons were everywhere to be seen. although the senators had commanded that no changes should be made before Caesar's arrival, and Antony that no private individual in the city should carry arms. As the tribunes, however, paid no attention to these orders, but resorted to absolutely every sort of measure against each other and against the men just mentioned, a third party arose, consisting of Antony and the senate. For in order to let it be thought that his weapons and the authority that resulted from their possession, an authority which he had already usurped, had been granted by that body, he got the privilege of keeping soldiers within the walls and of helping the other tribunes to guard the city. After this Antony did whatever he desired with a kind of legal right, while Dolabella and Trebellius were nominally guilty of violence; but their effrontery and resources led them to resist both each other and him, as if they too had received some position of command from the senate.

Meanwhile Antony learned that the legions which Caesar after the battle had sent ahead into Italy, with the intention of following them later, were engaged in questionable proceedings; and fearing that they might begin some rebellion, he turned over the charge of the city to Lucius Caesar, appointing him city prefect, an office never before conferred by a master of the horse, and then set out himself to join the soldiers. The tribunes who were at variance with each other despised Lucius because of his advanced age and inflicted many outrages upon one another

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τε εν τη Αινύπτω διωκηκότα και ες την 'Ρώμην ώρμηκότα ἐπύθοντο, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 3 εξειργάσαντο. ώς γαρ οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανήξοντος, άλλ' έκει που πρός των Αίγυπτίων, ώσπερ που ήκουου, ἀπολουμένου, διεφέροντο. τότε δὲ χρόνον μέν τινα έμετρίασαν, έπει δε έπι τον Φαρνάκην έκείνος πρότερον έπεστράτευσεν, έστασίασαν αθδ ουν Αντώνιος μήτε έπισχειν αυτούς 31 θ_{ig} . δυνάμενος, καὶ τῶ πλήθει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν εναντίωσιν προσκρούων, τὰ μεν πρώτα τούτω προσέθετο, καὶ τὸν Τρεβέλλιον άλλα τε έπητιατο καὶ ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας σφε-2 τερίζοιτο· ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὸν ὅμιλον ἑαυτοῦ μέν μηδέν προτιμώντα τῷ δὲ Δολοβέλλα μόνφ προσκείμενον, ήχθέσθη καὶ μετεβάλετο, άλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῆς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους χάριτος οὐκ 2 ἐκοινώνει οἱ, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν 3 αίτίας τὸ πλείστον μετελάμβανε. καὶ τῶ μὲν λόγω ἐν μέσω ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, τῶ δὲ ἔργω τὸν Τρεβέλλιον κρύφα ἀνθείλετο, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ στρατιώτας λαβεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατὴς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις εποίουν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερά ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ὑπὸ τῶν 32 ἀειπαρθένων ἐκκομισθῆναι. αδθίς τε οδν φυλακην οί βουλευταί της πόλεως ακριβεστέραν

¹ μετεβάλετο Bk, μετεβάλλετο L. 2 οὐκ supplied by Reim.

^{*} έμπρήσεις R. Steph., έμπρήσεις τε L

and upon the rest, until they learned that Caesar BC 48 having settled affairs in Egypt, had set out for Rome. For they were carrying on their quarrel upon the assumption that he would never return again but would of course perish there at the hands of the Egyptians, as, indeed, they kept hearing was the case. When, however, his coming was reported, they moderated their conduct for a time; but as soon as he set out against Pharnaces first, they fell to quarrelling once more. Accordingly Antony, seeing that he was unable to restrain them and that his opposition to Dolabella was obnoxious to the populace, at first ioined himself to that tribune and brought various charges against Trebellius, among them one to the effect that he was appropriating the soldiers to his own use. Later, when he perceived that he himself was not held in any esteem by the multitude, which was attached only to Dolabella, he became vexed and changed sides, the more so because, while not sharing with the plebeian leader the favour of the people, he nevertheless received the greatest share of blame from the senators. So nominally he adopted a neutral attitude toward the two, but in fact secretly preferred the cause of Trebellius, and cooperated with him in various ways, particularly by allowing him to obtain soldiers. Thenceforward he became merely a spectator and director of their contest, while they fought, seized in turn the most advantageous points in the city, and entered upon a career of murder and arson, to such an extent that on one occasion the holy vessels were carried by the virgins out of the temple of Vesta. So the senators once more voted that the master of the horse should keep the

τῷ ἱππάρχῳ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἄπασα 2 ώς εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παῦλά τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἀπογνοὺς συγγνώμης τινὸς παρά τοῦ Καίσαρος τεύξεσθαι,1 μέγα τι κακὸν ἐπεθύμει δράσας ἀπολέσθαι ὡς καὶ όνομα ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἀεὶ σχήσων ήδη γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν κακίστων ἔργων ἔρασταὶ ἐπὶ τῆ φήμη γίγνονται. υφ' ουπέρ και έκεινος τά τε άλλα ἐτάραττε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τόν τε περὶ τῶν χρεῶν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐνοικίων, ἐν ῥητἢ τινι ἡμέρᾳ 3 θήσειν υπέσχετο. ώς οθν τοθτό τε προεπής. γελτο² καὶ ὁ ὄχλος τά τε περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν ἀποφράξας καὶ πύργους ἔστιν ή ξυλίνους ἐπικαταστήσας ετοιμός παντί τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένο σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐγένετο, ἐνταῦθ' ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος στρατιώτας άμα τη ημέρα πολλούς ἐκ τοῦ Κα-πιτωλίου καταγαγών τάς τε σανίδας τῶν νόμων κατέκοψε, καί τινας καὶ μετά τοῦτο ταραχώδεις ἀπ' 4 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.

33 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τοῦτο το στασιάζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσφ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τόσφ
μᾶλλον οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἐθορύβουν, νομίζοντες τὸν
Καίσαρα μεγίστφ τε καὶ δυσχερεστάτφ πολέμφ
συμπεπλέχθαι. οὐδὲ ἐπέσχον πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον
2 ἐξαπιναίως σφίσιν ὀφθῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες
ήσύχασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πᾶν ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο
πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων, λόγος τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ
πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἢν, 6 τῶν μὲν τά, τῶν δὲ τὰ

¹ τεύξεσθαι Reim , τεύξασθαι L

² προεπήγγελτο Βk., προεπηγγέλλετο L

³ ἐπικαταστήσας Rk., ἀποκαταστήσας L.
⁴ ἀπ' Rk., ἐπ' L

city under stricter guard, and practically the whole BC 48 city was filled with soldiers. Yet there was no respite. For Dolabella, in despair of obtaining any pardon from Caesar, desired to accomplish some terrible deed before perishing, hoping thus to gain lasting renown; thus there are actually some men who become infatuated with the basest deeds for the sake of fame! From this motive he, too, caused confusion generally, even promising that on a certain specified day he would enact his laws in regard to debts and house-rents. On receipt of these announcements the crowd erected barricades round the Forum, setting up wooden towers at some points, and put itself in readiness to cope with any force that might oppose it. At that, Antony led down from the Capitol at dawn a large body of soldiers, cut down the tablets containing Dolabella's laws and afterwards hurled some of the disturbers from the very cliffs of the Capitoline.

However, even this did not stop their quarrelling. Instead, the greater the number of those who perished, the greater disturbance did the survivors make, thinking that Caesar had become involved in a very great and difficult war. And they did not cease until he himself suddenly appeared before them; then they reluctantly quieted down. They were expecting to suffer every conceivable ill fate, and there was talk about them all through the city, some judging one way and others another; but

δικαιούντων ό δὲ δὴ Καΐσαρ τῷ συνήθει οί τρόπω και τότε έχρήσατο. τη τε γάρ παρούση αὐτῶν καταστάσει ἡρκέσθη, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προγενομένων έπολυπραγμόνησεν, άλλά πάντων τε έφείσατο καί τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίμησεν, ἄλλους 3 τε καὶ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν. εὐεργεσίαν γάρ τινα αὐτῷ οφείλων ουκ ηξίωσεν αυτής εκλαθέσθαι ου γάρ ότι ηδικήθη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνης ώλιγώρησεν, άλλ' έξ ών εὖ ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτφ οἱ συνέγνω, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἐν τιμῆ ἤγαγεν, καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολλώ ὕστερον μηδὲ στρατηγήσαντα ἀπέδειξε. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῆ 'Ρώμη παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπουσίαν ἐγένετο χρόνιος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτω. ηλθε διὰ τάδε. οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων έσπράξεσι βαρυνόμενοι, και δεινώς φέροντες ότι 2 μηδε των ιερών τις απείχετο (θρησκεύουσί τε γαρ πολλά περισσότατα άνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους

ύπερ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἄτε μὴ καθ' εν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου καὶ αὐτοῖς ¹ τιμῶντές τινα, ἀναιροῦνται), τούτοις τε οὖν ἀγανακτήσαντες, καὶ προσέτι φοβηθέντες μὴ τῆ Κλεοπάτρα ἄτε μέγα παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι δυναμένη παραδοθῶσιν, ἐταράχθησαν. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τέως μὲν δι' ἐτέρων παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδικάζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν (ἦν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείσταις

1 αύτοῖς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L.

καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις που περιτύχοι, συνεγίγνετο),

Caesar even at this juncture followed his usual B.C 48 practice. Accepting their attitude of the moment as satisfactory and not concerning himself with their past conduct, he spared them all, and even honoured some of them, including Dolabella. For he owed the latter some kindness, which he did not see fit to forget; in other words, in place of overlooking that favour because he had been wronged, he pardoned him in consideration of the benefit he had received, and besides honouring him in other ways he not long afterward appointed him consul, though he had not even served as practor.

These were the events which occurred in Rome during Caesar's absence. Now the reasons why he was so long in coming there and did not arrive immediately after Pompey's death were as follows. The Egyptians were discontented at the levies of money and indignant because not even their temples were left untouched. For they are the most religious people on earth in many respects and wage wars even against one another on account of their beliefs, since they are not all agreed in their worship, but are diametrically opposed to each other in some matters. As a result, then, of their vexation at this and, further, of their fear that they might be surrendered to Cleopatra, who had great influence with Caesar, they began a disturbance. Cleopatra, it seems, had at first urged with Caesar her claim against her brother by means of agents, but as soon as she discovered his disposition (which was very susceptible, to such an extent that he had his intrigues with ever so many other women-with all, doubtless, who chanced to come in his way) she sent

πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν 1 προδίδοσθαί τε ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων λέγουσα καὶ ἀξιοῦσα αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς 4 ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἄλλως τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη γυναικών ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῆ τῆς ὅρας ἀκμῆ πολύ διέπρεπε, τό τε φθέγμα ἀστειότατον είχε, 5 καὶ προσομιλήσαι παντί τω διὰ χαρίτων ἡπίστατο, ώστε λαμπρά τε ιδείν καί άκουσθηναι οὖσα, κάκ τούτου πάντα τινὰ καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ άφηλικέστερον έξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρός τρόπου τε ενόμισε τω Καίσαρι εντεύξεσθαι, καὶ 6 πάντα εν τῷ κάλλει τὰ δικαιώματα έθετο. ήτήσατό τε οὖν ἐς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τυχοῦσα κατεκόσμησέ τε ξαυτήν καὶ εξήσκησεν ωστε σεμνοπρεπεστάτη καὶ οἰκτροτάτη αὐτῷ ὀφθῆναι. καί ή μεν ταθτα μηγανησαμένη ές τε την πόλιν άμα (ἔξω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνης ἡν) καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια 35 λάθρα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νυκτὸς ἐσῆλθεν ὁ δὲ δὴ Καΐσαρ ίδών τε αὐτὴν καί τι φθεγξαμένης ἀκούσας ούτως εὐθὺς ἐδουλώθη ὥστε αὐτίκα ὑπό τε την έω τόν τε Πτολεμαΐον μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ συναλλάξαι σφας επιχειρήσαι ής γάρ δικαστής πρότερον ήξιοῦτο είναι, τότε ταύτη συνεδίκει. 2 ο οὖν παῖς, διά τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αἰφνιδίως εἶδεν ἔνδον οὖσαν, ὀργῆς τε ἐπληρώθη, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐς τὸ πληθος ἐβόα λέγων προδίδοσθαι, καὶ τέλος τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς περισπάσας ἔρριψε. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτω μεγάλου συμβάντος έκείνον μέν οι Καισάρειοι στρατιώται συνήρπασαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ Αἰγύπτιον 3 εταράττετο καν αυτοβοεί τα βασίλεια και εκ

¹ αὐτὸν Leuncl., αὐτὸν καὶ L.

word to him that she was being betrayed by her nc 48 friends and asked that she be allowed to plead her case in person. For she was a woman of surpassing beauty, and at that time, when she was in the prime of her youth, she was most striking; she also possessed a most charming voice and a knowledge of how to make herself agreeable to every one. Being brilliant to look upon and to listen to, with the power to subjugate every one, even a love-sated man already past his prime, she thought that it would be in keeping with her rôle to meet Caesar, and she reposed in her beauty all her claims to the throne. She asked therefore for admission to his presence. and on obtaining permission adorned and beautified herself so as to appear before him in the most majestic and at the same time pity-inspiring guise. When she had perfected her schemes she entered the city (for she had been living outside of it), and by night without Ptolemy's knowledge went into the palace. Caesar, upon seeing her and hearing her speak a few words was forthwith so completely captivated that he at once, before dawn, sent for Ptolemy and tried to reconcile them, thus acting as advocate for the very woman whose judge he had previously assumed to be. For this reason, and because the sight of his sister within the palace was so unexpected, the boy was filled with wrath and rushed out among the people crying out that he was being betrayed, and at last he tore the diadem from his head and cast it away. In the great tumult which thereupon arose Caesar's troops seized the person of the prince and the Egyptian populace continued to be in an uproar. They assaulted

της γης καὶ ἐκ της θαλάσσης ἄμα προσβαλόντες 1 είλου (τοίς γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲυ ἀξιόμαχου, ἄτε καὶ φίλων σφῶν δοκούντων είναι, παρῆν), εἰ μὴ φοβηθείς ὁ Καισαρ προηλθέ τε ές αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ στὰς πάντα σφίσιν, ὅσα ἂν ἐθελή-4 σωσι, πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ές έκκλησίαν έσελθών τόν τε Πτολεμαΐον καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ πατρός αὐτῶν ἀνέγνω, ἐν αίς ἐκείνους μὲν συνοικησαί τε άλλήλοις κατά τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πάτρια καὶ βασιλεύειν ἄμα, τον δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δήμον την ἐπιτροπείαν σφῶν ἔχειν ἐγέπράξας δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπειπων ὅτι 5 γραπτο. έαυτῷ, δικτάτορι ὄντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος ἔχουτι, τήν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παίδων ποιείσθαι και τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελείν προσήκει, ἐκείνοις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφοτέροις έδωκε, καὶ τη ᾿Αρσινόη τῷ τε Πτολεμαίω τῷ νεωτέρω, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς σφων, Κύπρον ἐχαρί-6 σατο. τοσούτον γάρ που δέος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ώστε μη μόνον μηδεν των της Αιγύπτου προσλαβείν, άλλα και των οικείων τι αύτοις προσδούναι.

36 Τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐπαύσαντο, αὖθις δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκινήθησαν ὥστε καὶ πολεμῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ Ποθεινὸς ὁ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρημάτων προστεταγμένος (εὐνοῦχος δὲ ἢν καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 2 συνετεταράχει), δείσας μὴ καὶ δίκην ποτὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δῷ, πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αχιλλῶν πεοὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔτι καὶ τότε ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸν

προσβαλόντες cod. Peir., προσβάλλοντες L.
 ἄμα Rk., ἀλλὰ L.

the palace by land and sea at the same time and BC 48 might have taken it without a blow, since the Romans had no adequate force present, owing to the apparent friendship of the natives; but Caesar in alarm came out before them, and standing in a safe place, promised to do for them whatever they wished. Afterward he entered an assembly of theirs, and producing Ptolemy and Cleopatra, read their father's will, in which it was directed that they should live together according to the custom of the Egyptians and rule in common, and that the Roman people should exercise a guardianship over them When he had done this and had added that it belonged to him as dictator, holding all the power of the people, to have an oversight of the children and to fulfil their father's wishes, he bestowed the kingdom upon them both and granted Cyprus to Arsinoe and Ptolemy the Younger, a sister and a brother of theirs. For so great fear possessed him, it would seem, that he not only laid hold on none of the Egyptian domain, but actually gave them some of his own besides.

By this action they were temporarily calmed, but not long afterward were roused even to the point of making war. For Pothinus, a cunuch who was charged with the management of Ptolemy's funds and who had taken a leading part in stirring up the Egyptians, became afraid that he might some time have to pay the penalty for his conduct, and he accordingly sent secretly to Achillas, who was still at this time near Pelusium, and by frightening him and

έκφοβήσας τε άμα καὶ ἐπελπίσας προσηταιρίσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς 3 τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας ὠκειώσατο. πᾶσί τε γὰρ όμοίως δεινον έδοκει έιναι ύπο γυναικός ἄρχεσθαί, ύποψία του του Καίσαρα τότε μεν έπι τη καταστάσει σφών ἀμφοτέροις δῆθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκέναι, προιόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου 4 μόνη τῆ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτὴν προσθήσειν καὶ αντίπαλοι τῷ τότε παρόντι αὐτοῦ στρατῷ ενόμιζον είναι. καὶ οἱ μεν ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Αλεξάν-37 δρειαν εὐθὺς ἄραντες ἤλασαν 1 πυθόμενος δὲ τούτο ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ καταδείσας τό τε πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας, ἔπεμψέ τινας πρὸς τὸν Αχιλλάν, οὔτι γε τῷ αὑτοῦ ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ὀνόματι, κελεύοντος αὐτῷ τὴν ήσυχίαν άγειν. και δς συνιείς ότι ου του παιδὸς άλλ' ἐκείνου ή πρόσταξις ἢν, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ 2 ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσας ώς καὶ φοβουμένου τούς τε στρατιώτας συνήγαγε, καὶ πολλά μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πολλά δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας εἰπών, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας καίπερ Αίγυπτίους όντας παρώξυνεν αὐτούς, ὅπως τοῦ τε φόνου σφών άναπλησθώσι καὶ ές ανάγκην 3 ασπείστου πολέμου καταστώσι. μαθών οὖν ταθτα ό Καβσαρ τούς τε έκ της Συρίας στρατιώτας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τά τε ἄλλα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήματα διετάφρευσε 38 καὶ ἀπετείχισε μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. κὰν τούτφ καὶ ὁ ἀχιλλᾶς μετά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου σὺν τῷ

at the same time inspiring him with hopes he made Bit. 43 him his associate, and next won over also all the rest who bore arms. To all of them alike it seemed a shame to be ruled by a woman—for they suspected that Caesar on the occasion mentioned had given the kingdom ostensibly to both the children merely to quiet the people, and that in the course of time he would offer it to Cleopatra alone-and they thought themselves a match for the army he then had present. So they set out at once and proceeded toward Alexandria. Caesar, learning of this and feeling afraid of their numbers and daring, sent some men to Achillas, not in his own, but in Ptolemy's name, bidding him keep the peace. Achillas, however, realizing that this was not the boy's command, but Caesar's, so far from giving it any attention, was filled with contempt for the sender, believing him afraid. So he called his soldiers together and by haranguing them at length in favour of Ptolemy and against Caesar and Cleopatra he finally roused their anger against the messengers, though these were Egyptians, so that they should defile themselves with their murder and thus be forced into a relentless war. Caesar, apprised of this, summoned his soldiers from Syria and fortified the palace and the other buildings near it by a moat and wall reaching to the sea. Meanwhile Achillas arrived with the Romans and the others who had been left behind with Septimus

Σεπτιμίφ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φρουρὰν

καταλειφθέντων ἐπελθών (ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐκεῖ διατριβῆς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἐς τὸ ἐπιχώριον μετεβεβλήκεσαν) τῶν τε ᾿Αλεξανδρέων τὸ πλεῖστον εὐθὺς προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα 2 ἐκρατύνατο. κάκ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν μάχαι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο,¹ ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τάς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων, πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὥς φασι, γενομένων, καυθήναι. έκράτει δε της μεν ήπείρου δ 'Αχιλλᾶς, χωρίς ὧν δ Καΐσαρ ἐνετε-τείχιστο, τῆς δὲ δὴ θαλάσσης ἐκεῖνος, ἄνευ 3 τοῦ λιμένος. καὶ ναυμαχία τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ έπειδη διά τοῦτο Φοβηθέντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μη ές του λιμένα σφων έπεσπλεύση, το στόμα αὐτοῦ πλην βραχέος ἔχωσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσ-απέφραξεν, ὁλκάδας λίθων πλήρεις καταποντώσας, δώστ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' εἰ πάνυ τι βούλοιντο 4 ἐκπλεῦσαι, δυνηθηναί ποι ἀπάραι. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ράον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπήγετο τὴν γὰρ αὐτόθεν ὑδρείαν ὁ ᾿Αχιλλᾶς σφας ἀφήρητο,3 τοὺς ὀχετοὺς διακόψας. Τούτων δε ούτω πραττομένων Γανυμήδης τις

39 Τούτων δε οὕτω πραττομένων Γανυμήδης τις εὐνοῦχος τὴν 'Αρσινόην οὐ πάνυ φρουρουμένην ες τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπεξήγαγε καὶ ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι βασιλίδα ἀποδείξαντες προθυμότερον τοῦ πολέμου, ὡς καὶ προστάτιν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πτολε μαίων γένους ἔχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο. ὁ οὖν

3 ἀφήρητο R. Steph., ἀφηίρετο L.

¹ κατεπίμπρατο St., κατεπίμπραντο L.

² καταποντώσας Βk., προσκαταποντώσας L.

by Gabinius to keep guard over Ptolemy; for these BC. 48 troops as a result of their stay there had changed their habits and had adopted those of the natives. And he immediately won over the larger part of the Alexandrines and made himself master of the most advantageous positions. After this many battles occurred between the two forces both by day and by night, and many places were set on fire, with the result that the docks and the storehouses of grain among other buildings were burned, and also the library, whose volumes, it is said, were of the greatest number and excellence Achillas was in possession of the mainland, with the exception of what Caesar had walled off, and the latter of the sea except the harbour. Caesar, indeed, was victorious in a sea-fight, and when the Egyptians, consequently, fearing that he would sail into their harbour, had blocked up the entrance with the exception of a narrow passage, he cut off that outlet also by sinking freight ships loaded with stones; so they were unable to stir, no matter how much they might desire to sail out. After this achievement provisions, and water in particular, were brought in more easily; for Achillas had deprived them of the local water-supply by cutting the pipes

While these events were taking place, one Ganymedes, a eunuch, secretly brought Arsinoe to the Egyptians, as she was not very well guarded. They declared her queen and proceeded to prosecute the war more vigorously, inasmuch as they now had as leader a representative of the family of the

Καΐσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ποθεινὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκκλέψη, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ
οὐκέτ' ἐπικρυπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς ἐφρούρει. παροξυνθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων,
καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν πλειόνων ἀεὶ προσγιγνομένων,
τοῖς δὲ δὴ 'Ρωμαίοις μηδέπω τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρόντων, ἐς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς
3 ὑπαγαγέσθαι ἡθέλησε, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον
ἀναβιβάσας που, ὅθεν ἐξακουσθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν,
εἰπεῖν σφισιν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι οὕτε τι κακὸν ἔχοι
οὕτε πολεμεῖν δέοιτο· πρός τε τὰς σπονδὰς
αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει, καὶ προσυπισχνεῖτο διαπρά4 ξειν αὐτάς. καὶ εἴγε ἐκὼν ταῦτα οὕτω διείλεκτο,
ἔπεισεν ἄν σφας καταλύσασθαι· νῦν δ' ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεσκευάσθαι
οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν.

40 Προιόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου στάσις τοῖς περὶ τὴν ᾿Αρσινόην οὖσιν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Γανυμήδης ἔπεισε τὸν ᾿Αχιλλᾶν ὡς καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προδώσοντα ¹ ἀποκτεῖναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ λίμνη ² ἡν συνήγαγεν, ἄλλα τε προσκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν διωρύχων κομίσας τοῖς τε Ὑρωμαίοις μὴ προσδεχομένοις προσέβαλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τῶν ὁλκάδων αὐτῶν τὰς δὲ ἀνεδήσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τόν τε ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐξεκάθηρε, κὰνταῦθα ³ ναυλοχῶν ² πολλά σφας ἐλύπει. τηρήσας οὖν ποτε αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν

¹ προδώσοιτα Reim., προδοῦσαν L. 2 ναυλοχῶν Χyl., ναυλομαχῶν L.

Ptolemies. Caesar, therefore, in fear that Pothinus Bc 48 might kidnap Ptolemy, put the former to death and guarded the latter strictly without any further dissimulation. This served still more to incense the Egyptians, to whose party numbers were being added continually, whereas the Roman soldiers from Syria were not vet present Caesar was therefore anxious to win the people's friendship, and so he led Ptolemy up to a place from which they could hear his voice. and then bade him say to them that he was unharmed and did not desire war; and he urged them toward peace, and moreover promised to arrange it for them. Now if he had talked to them thus of his own accord, he might have persuaded them to become reconciled; but as it was, they suspected that it was all prearranged by Caesar, and so did not yield.

As time went on a dispute arose among the followers of Arsinoe, and Ganymedes prevailed upon her to put Achillas to death, on the ground that he was going to betray the fleet. When this had been done, he assumed command of the soldiers and gathered all the boats that were in the river and the lake, besides constructing others; and he conveyed them all through the canals to the sea, where he attacked the Romans while off their guard, burned some of their freight ships to the water's edge and towed others away. Then he cleared out the entrance to the harbour and by lying in wait for vessels there he caused the Romans great annoyance. So Caesar, having waited for a time when they were acting carelessly by reason of their success, suddenly

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έχουτας ές τε τὸν λιμένα αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσέπλευσε, καὶ συχνὰ πλοῖα καύσας ἔς τε τὴν Φάρον ἀπέβη καὶ τούς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῆ ἐφόνευσεν. δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῆ ἡπείρω Αἰγύπτιοι κατά τε τὰς γεφύρας ἐπεβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συχνοὺς των 'Ρωμαίων ανταποκτείναντες τους λοιπους 4 ές τὰς ναῦς ἐσήραξαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁπουδήποτε καὶ ἀθρόως ἐσβιαζομένων ἐς αὐτὰς ἄλλοι τε πολλοί ες την θάλασσαν εξέπεσον καί δ Καΐσαρ. κὰν διέφθαρτο κακῶς, ὑπό τε τῶν ἰματίων Βαρυνόμενος και ύπο των Αίγυπτίων βαλλόμενος (άλουργών γαρ αὐτών ὄντων ἐστοχάζοντο), εἰ μή καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀπερρίφει καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διανεύ-5 σας πη ές ακάτιου έσεβεβήκει. και ο μεν ούτως ἐσώθη, μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων βρέξας ἃ πολλά εν τη άριστερά χειρί άνεχων ενήξατο την δὲ δὴ ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι λαβόντες πρὸς τὸ τρόπαιον, δ έστησαν της τροπης ταύτης, ἀνεκρέμασαν ως καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἡρηκότες. καὶ ήδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας μετεπέπεμπτο 1 ἐπλησίασε, τάς τε κατάρσεις ἐτήρουν 6 καὶ πολλά αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ² πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην σφῶν προσπίπτουσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ τρόπον τινὰ ἤμυνε συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐκβολὰς πυρσοῖς ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ὄντες ηπάτων τε καὶ συνελάμβανον, ώστε λοιπούς μηκέτι τολμᾶν παρακομίζεσθαι, μέχρις οὖ Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων ἐς αὐτὸν τότε τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλεύσας ἐκείνους τε μάχη ἐκράτησε καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀδεέστερου τὸυ πρόσπλουυ ἐποίησε.

¹ μετεπέπεμπτο Dind., μετεπέμπετο L. ² γὰρ supplied by Rk.

sailed into the harbour, burned a large number of BC. 48 vessels, and disembarking on Pharos, slew the inhabitants of the island. When the Egyptians on the mainland saw this, they rushed over the bridges to the aid of their friends, and after killing many of the Romans in turn drove the remainder back to the ships. While the fugitives were forcing their way into these in crowds anywhere they could, Caesar and many others fell into the sea. He would have perished miserably, being weighted down by his robes and pelted by the Egyptians (for his garments, being of purple, offered a good mark), had he not thrown off his clothing and then succeeded in swimming out to where a skiff lay, which he boarded. In this way he was saved, and that, too, without wetting one of the documents of which he held up a large number in his left hand as he swam. The Egyptians took his clothing and hung it upon the trophy which they set up to commemorate this rout, just as if they had captured him himself. They also kept a close watch upon the landings, since the legions which had been sent for from Syria were already drawing near, and were doing the Romans much injury. For while Caesar could defend in a fashion those of them who came ashore on the Libyan side, yet near the mouth of the Nile the Egyptians deceived many of his men by means of signal fires, as if they too were Romans, and thus captured them, so that the rest no longer ventured to come to land, until Tiberius Claudius Nero at this time sailed up the river itself, conquered the foe in battle. and made it safer for his followers to come to land.

Κάν τούτφ Μιθριδάτης δ Περγαμηνός έπι-41 κληθείς έπεχείρησε μεν ές το στόμα του Νείλου τὸ κατὰ Πηλούσιον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀναβῆναι, ἀπο-Φραξάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς πλοίοις τὸν έσπλουν προσεκομίσθη νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα, 2 καὶ ναῦς ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπερενεγκών (οὐ γὰρ ἐξίησιν ἐς την θάλασσαν) ούτω διὰ ταύτης ές τὸν Νείλον άνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αἰφνίδιον ἔκ τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄμα τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ προσμίξας τήν τε ἀπόκλεισίν 1 3 σφων έλυσε, καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον τῷ τε πεζῷ ἄμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσβαλών είλε. προχωρών τε έπὶ την 'Αλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πυθόμενος Διοσκουρίδην τινα απαντήσειν σφίσιν, ενήδρευσε τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατειργάσατο. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν 2

πόλεμον οὐδ' ὡς κατελύσαντο, ἀχθεσθέντες εδ δὲ τἢ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρχῆ, καὶ νομίσαντες, ἀν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον προστήσωνται, επειδή οὐδένα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἤδυνήθησαν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάσσετο), ἐπλάσαντο ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς πεπονῆσθαι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικηρυκευόμενοί τε καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αἰτοῦντες, ὅπως δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν, ἐφ' οἶς γενήσοιντο, εκοιδονονται. ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ ἐνόμισε μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς μεταβεβλῆσθαι (ἄλλως τε γὰρ καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ ὀξυρρόπους ὄντας ἤκουε, καὶ τότε

¹ ἀπόκλεισίν R. Steph., ἀπόκλισίν L.

μèν supplied by Bk.
 ἀχθεσθέντες R. Steph., ἀχθέντες L.

Thereupon Mithridates, called the Pergamenian, B.C. 47 undertook to go up with his ships into the mouth of the Nile opposite Pelusium; but when the Egyptians barred his entrance with their vessels, he betook himself by night to the canal, hauled the ships over into it, since it does not empty into the sea, and through it sailed up into the Nile. After that he suddenly attacked, from both sea and river at once, those who were guarding the mouth of the river, and thus breaking up their blockade, he assaulted Pelusium with his infantry and his fleet simultaneously and captured it. Advancing then toward Alexandria, and learning that a certain Dioscorides was coming to confront them, he ambushed and destroyed him.

But the Egyptians on receiving the news would not end the war even then; yet they were irritated at the rule of the eunuch and of the woman and thought that if they could put Ptolemy at their head they would be superior to the Romans. So then, finding themselves unable to seize him in any way, inasmuch as he was skilfully guarded, they pretended that they were worn out by their disasters and desired peace; and they sent to Caesar, making overtures and asking for Ptolemy, in order, as they claimed, that they might consult with him about the terms on which a truce could be effected. Now Caesar believed that they had in very truth changed their mind, since he heard that they were cowardly and fickle in general and perceived that at this

time they were terrified in the face of their defeats; B.C 47 but even in case they should be planning some trick, in order that he might not be regarded as hindering peace, he said that he approved their request, and sent them Ptolemy For he saw no source of strength in the lad, in view of his youth and lack of education, and hoped that the Egyptians would either become reconciled with him on the terms he wished or else would more justly deserve to be warred upon and subjugated, so that there might be some reasonable excuse for delivering them over to Cleopatra; for of course he had no idea that he would be defeated by them, particularly now that his troops had joined him. But the Egyptians, when they secured the lad, took not a thought for peace, but straightway set out against Mithridates, as if they were sure to accomplish some great achievement by the name and by the family of Ptolemy; and they surrounded Mithridates near the lake, between the river and the marshes, and routed his forces. Now Caesar did not pursue them, through fear of being ambushed, but at night he set sail as if he were hurrying to some outlet of the Nile, and kindled an enormous fire on each vessel, so that it might be widely believed that he was going thither. He started at first, then, to sail away, but afterwards extinguished the fires, returned, and passed alongside the city to the peninsula on the Libyan side, where he came to land; and there he disembarked the soldiers, went around the lake, and fell upon the Egyptians unexpectedly about dawn. They were immediately so dismayed that they made overtures for peace, but since he would not listen to

4 καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (τὴν γὰρ ἱκετείαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο) μάχη τε ὀξεία κατεκράτησε καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφόνευσε· καί τινες καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, σπουδῆ δί

αὐτοῦ φυγόντες, ἐφθάρησαν.

Ούτω μεν την Αίγυπτον ο Καισαρ εχειρώσατο, ού μέντοι καὶ ὑπήκοον αὐτὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῆ Κλεοπάτρα, ἦσπερ ἔνεκα καὶ 2 έπεπολεμήκει, έχαρίσατο. φοβηθείς μέντοι μή οί Αλγύπτιοι νεωτερίσωσιν αθθις γυναικί άρχειν παραδοθέντες, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διά τε τοῦτο καὶ ότι καὶ συνήν αὐτῷ χαλεπήνωσι, τῷ τε ἐτέρω άδελφῶ συνοικήσαι δήθεν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ την βασιλείαν άμφοτέροις σφίσιν, ώς γε καὶ λόγω 3 είπειν, έδωκε. τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μόνη παν τὸ κράτος σχήσειν έμελλεν ὅ τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτης παιδίου ἔτι ην, καὶ ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὔνοιαν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδύνατο. 4 ώστε πρόσχημα μεν ώς καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικοῦσα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίκοινον αὐτῷ ἔχουσα ἐκέκτητο, τὸ δ' ἀληθές μόνη τε έβασίλευε καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι συνδιητάτο.

5 Καί αὐτὸν ἐπὶ¹ πλείον ἂν ἐν τῆ Αἰγύπτφ κατέσχεν, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συναπῆρεν, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Φαρνάκης καὶ ἐκείθεν πάνν ἄκοντα τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὴν 'Ιταλίαν 2 ἐπειχθῆναι ἐκώλυσεν. οὖτος γὰρ παῖς μὲν² τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἢν καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου ἢρχεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρώαν βασιλείαν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἐπανέστη κατ' αὐτὴν τήν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου

¹ ἐπὶ Rk., ἔτι L. 2 γὰρ παῖς μὲν Bk., μὲν γὰρ παῖς L.

their entreaty, a fierce battle later took place in 8.0 47 which he was victorious and slew great numbers of the enemy. Ptolemy and some others tried in their haste to escape across the river, and perished in it.

In this way Caesar overcame Egypt. He did not, however, make it subject to the Romans, but bestowed it upon Cleopatra, for whose sake he had waged the conflict. Yet, being afraid that the Egyptians might rebel again, because they were delivered over to a woman to rule, and that the Romans might be angry, both on this account and because he was living with the woman, he commanded her to "marry" her other brother, and gave the kingdom to both of them, at least nominally. For in reality Cleopatra was to hold all the power alone, since her husband was still a boy, and in view of Caesar's favour there was nothing that she could not do. Hence her hving with her brother and sharing the rule with him was a mere pretence which she accepted, whereas in truth she ruled alone and spent her time in Caesar's company.

She would have detained him even longer in Egypt or else would have set out with him at once for Rome, had not Pharnaces not only drawn Caesar away from Egypt, very much against his will, but also hindered him from hurrying to Italy. This king was a son of Mithridates and ruled the Cimmerian Bosporus, as has been stated¹; he conceived the desire to win back again the entire kingdom of his ancestors, and so he revolted just at the time of the quarrel between Caesar and

¹ xxxvii. 12-14, xlii. 9.

στάσιν, καὶ οἶα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε μὲν πρὸς άλλήλους ἀσχόλων γενομένων, αὖθις δὲ ἐν τῆ 3 Αἰγύπτφ κατασχεθέντων, τήν τε Κολγίδα ἀκονιτί προσηγάγετο καὶ τὴν Αρμενίαν ἀπόντος τοῦ Δηιοτάρου πᾶσαν, της τε Καππαδοκίας 1 καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου πόλεών τινας, αὶ τῶ τῆς Βιθυνίας νομῶ 46 προσετετάχατο, κατεστρέψατο. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταΰτα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκινήθη (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτός πω καθειστήκει,² καὶ έλπίδος τι³ είχε δι' έτέρων αὐτὸν χειρώσεσθαι), Γναΐον δε Δομίτιον Καλουίνον έπεμψε, τήν τε 'Ασίαν οἱ καὶ 4 στρατόπεδα προστάξας. 2 καὶ δς τὸν Δηιόταρον καὶ τὸν ᾿Αριοβαρζάνην προσλαβών ήλασεν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐν τῆ Νικοπόλει όντα (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προκατειλήφει), καὶ καταφρονήσας, ἐπειδη ἐκεῖνος την παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶς ἀνοχὴν ἐπὶ πρεσβεύσει ἐτοίμως ἔσχε ποιήσασθαι,⁵ οὐτε ἐσπείσατο αὐτῷ καὶ 3 συμβαλών ήττήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἐς τὴν Ασίαν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἀξιόμαχός οἱ ἢν καὶ ὁ χειμών προσήει, ἀνεχώρησεν Φαρνάκης δὲ μεγάλα δὴ φρονών τά τε άλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ προσκατεκτήσατο,6 καὶ Αμισον καίπερ ἐπὶ αντισχοῦσαν είλέ τε καὶ διήρπασε, τούς ήβωντας εν αὐτη πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ες την Βιθυνίαν τήν τε 'Ασίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τῷ πατρὶ κάν τούτω μαθών 4 έλπίσιν ήπείνετο. "Ασανδρον, δυ ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Βοσπόρου κατελε-

Some word like μέρος or τὸ πλεῖστον seems to have fallen out here ² καθειστήκει R. Steph., καθειστήκη L.

³ τι Dind., τε L. ⁴ Lacuna recognized by Dind

⁵ ποιήσασθαι v. Herw., ποιήσεσθαι L

⁶ προσκατεκτήσατο Pflugk, προσκατεστήσατο L.

Pompey, and, as the Romans were at that time BC 47 occupied with one another and afterward were detained in Egypt, he got possession of Colchis without any difficulty, and in the absence of Deiotarus subjugated all Armenia, and [part?] of Cappadocia, and some cities of Pontus that had been assigned to the district of Bithyma. While he was thus engaged, Caesar himself did not stir, inasmuch as Egypt was not yet in a settled state and he had some hope of overcoming Pharnaces through others: but he sent Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, assigning him charge of Asia and of . . . legions. officer added to his forces Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes and marched straight against Pharnaces, who was at Nicopolis, which he had already seized; and feeling contempt for his enemy, because the latter in dread of his arrival was ready through an embassy to agree to an armistice, he did not conclude a truce with him, but attacked him and was defeated. After that he retired to Asia, since he was no match for his conqueror and winter was approaching. Pharnaces was greatly elated, and after acquiring all the rest of Pontus, captured Amisus also, though it long held out against him; and he plundered the city and put to the sword all the men of military age there. He then hastened into Bithynia and Asia with the same hopes as his father had cherished. Meanwhile, learning that Asander, whom he had left as governor of Bosporus, had

λοίπει, νενεοχμωκότα, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω 1 προεχώρησεν εκείνος γάρ, επειδή τάχιστα πόρρω τε Φαρνάκης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προιών ἠγγέλθη, καὶ έδόκει, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἀνθοῖ,² άλλ' ούτι γε καὶ ἔπειτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν, ἐπανέστη αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τι χαριούμενος τήν τε δυναστείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου παρ' αὐτῶν ληψόμενος.

Τοῦτ' οὖν ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀκούσας ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μάτην τὸν γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν τῆ ὁδῷ εἶναι και ές την Αρμενίαν επείγεσθαι πυθόμενος ανέστρεψε, κανταθθα αὐτῷ περὶ Ζέλαν συνέτυχεν. ό γαρ Καίσαρ του τε Πτολεμαίου τελευτήσαντος καί του Δομιτίου νικηθέντος ούτε εὐπρεπή ούτε λυσιτελή οί την έν τη Αιγύπτω διατριβήν ενόμισεν είναι, άλλα άφωρμήθη, καὶ τάχει πολλώ 2 χρησάμενος ές την Αρμενίαν άφίκετο. έκπλαγείς οὖν ο βάρβαρος, καὶ πολύ μᾶλλον τὴν όρμὴν ἢ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδείσας, προσέπεμψεν αὐτῶ πρὶν πλησιάσαι πολλάκις προκηρυκευόμενος, εί πως τὸ παρὸν ἐφ' ὁτφδὴ συνθέμενος προίσχετο δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς 3 ἐκφύνοι. μάλιστα ότι οὐ συνήρατο τῷ Πομπηίω καὶ ήλπιζεν ὑπάξεσθαί τε αὐτὸν ἐς σπονδὰς ἄτε καὶ ές την Ίταλίαν τήν τε Αφρικήν έπειγόμενον, καὶ άπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ὁαδίως αὖθις πολεμήσειν. 4 ύποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους πρέσβεις ἐφιλοφρονήσατο, όπως ότι μάλιστα απροσδοκήτω οἱ τῆ τῆς εἰρήνης έλπίδι προσπέση, των δε τρίτων ελθόντων τά τε

² ἀνθοῖ Bk., ἀν λάθοι Ĺ.

¹ περαιτέρω R. Steph., περεταίρωι L.

revolted, he gave up advancing any farther. For BC 47 Asander, as soon as word was brought that Pharnaces was moving far away from him, and it seemed likely that however prosperous he might be temporarily, he would not fare well later on, rose against him, thinking thus to do a favour to the Romans and to receive the sovereignty of Bosporus from them.

It was at the news of this that Pharnaces set out against him, but all in vain; for on ascertaining that Caesar was on the way and was hurrying into Armenia, he turned back and met him there near Zela. For now that Ptolemy was dead and Domitius vanguished. Caesar had decided that his delay in Egypt was neither creditable nor profitable to him, and had set out from there and had come with great speed into Armenia. And so the barbarian, alarmed and fearing Caesar's rapidity much more than his army, sent messengers to him before he drew near, making frequent proposals to see if he might on some terms or other escape the present danger. One of the principal pleas that he presented was that he had not cooperated with Pompey, and he hoped to induce Caesar to grant a truce, particularly since the latter was anxious to hasten to Italy and Africa; and once Caesar was gone, he hoped to wage war again at his ease Caesar suspected this, and so treated the first and second embassies with great kindness, in order that he might fall upon his foe as unexpectedly as possible because of his hopes of peace; but when the third deputation came, he uttered various re-

άλλα ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν 5 εὐεργέτην ἐγκατέλιπεν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο,1 άλλ' εὐθὺς αὐθημερόν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς όδοῦ, συνέμιξε, καί τινα χρόνον ύπό τε της ίππου καί ύπο των δρεπανηφόρων εκταραχθείς έπειτα τοις όπλίταις έκράτησε. καὶ έκεῖνον μὲν ἐκφυγόντα έπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ές ² τὸν Βόσπορον μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσβιαζόμενον, ὁ "Ασανδρος εἰρξέ τε καὶ 48 ἀπέκτεινε Καίσαρ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆ νίκη, καίπερ οὐ πάνυ διαπρεπεί γενομένη, πολύ καὶ ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶ ἄλλη ἐφρόνησεν, ὅτι ἔν τε τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα καὶ ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ ὥρα καὶ ἢλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμιον 2 καὶ είδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τά τε λάφυρα πάντα, καίτοι πλείστα γενόμενα, τοίς στρατιώταις έδωρήσατο, καὶ τρόπαιου, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταῦθά που ἐγηγέρκει, άντανέστησε καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ώς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμίοις θεοῖς ίερωμένον, τη δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ έκεινο συνεσκίασε και τρόπον τινά και κατέ-3 στρεψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν χώραν ὅσην τῶν τε 'Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐνόρκων σφίσιν ἀποτετμημένος δ Φαρνάκης ήν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν ώς έκάστοις τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν ἔδωκε, πλὴν μέρους τινὸς της 'Αρμενίας, δ τῷ 'Αριοβαρζάνει έχαρί-4 σατο. τούς τε 'Αμισηνούς 3 έλευθερία ήμείψατο, καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτη τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τετραρχίαν τε έν Γαλατία καὶ βασιλείας ὄνομα έδωκε, πρός τε τον "Ασανδρον πολεμήσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως καὶ

¹ ἀνεβάλετο Η. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.

² ès Bk., ἐπὶ L.

^{3 &#}x27;Αμισηνούs R. Steph., άμισίνουs L.

proaches against him, one being that he had deserted BC. 47 Pompey, his benefactor. Then he no longer delayed, but immediately, that very day and just as he came from the march, joined battle. For a little while some confusion was caused him by the enemy's cavalry and scythe-bearing chariots, but after that he conquered with his heavy-armed troops. escaped to the sea and later tried to force his way into Bosporus, but Asander repulsed and killed him. Caesar took great pride in this victory, -more, in fact, than in any other, even though it had not been very brilliant,—because on the same day and in the same hour he had come to the enemy, had seen him, and had conquered him. All the spoils, though of great magnitude, he bestowed upon the soldiers, and he set up a trophy to offset one which Mithridates had raised somewhere in that region to commemorate the defeat of Triarius.² He did not dare to take down that of the barbarians, because it had been dedicated to the gods of war, but by the erection of his own near it he overshadowed and in a sense overthrew the other. Next he recovered all the territory belonging to the Romans and those under treaty with them which Pharnaces had taken, and restored it all to the persons who had been dispossessed, except a portion of Armenia, which he granted to Ariobarzanes. The people of Amisus he rewarded with freedom, and to Mithridates the Pergamenian he gave a tetrarchy in Galatia and the title of king and allowed him to wage war against Asander, so that by conquering him, he might get Bosporus

² Compare xxxvi. 12-13.

¹ A translation of the words *Veni vidi vici*, carried in the triumphal procession

τον Βόσπορον κρατήσας αὐτοῦ λάβη, ὅτι πονηρὸς

ές τὸν Φίλον ἐνένετο.

Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομιτίω 49 καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ές την Βιθυνίαν ηλθε. κάντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν έπλευσε, πολλά καὶ ἐπὶ πάση προφάσει χρήματα 2 παρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ πρίν, ἐκλέγων. μεν γάρ, όσα τινες τώ Πομπηίω προυπέσχηντο, έπράξατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱ ἔξωθεν, προσεπικαλών τινα, ήτει. τά τε ἀναθήματα τοῦ ἐν τῆ Τύρω 'Ηρακλέους πάντα άνείλετο, ὅτι τήν τε γυναΐκα και τὸν παίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑπεδέξαντο 3 ότε έφυγον. καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συγνούς καὶ παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν τε βασιλέων χρυσοῦς ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ κακίας ἐποίει, άλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐδαπάνα παμπληθῆ, καὶ ἀνάλωσιν πολύ πλείω ές τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ές τὰ ἐπινίκια, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐλαμπρύνετο, ποιήσειν 4 ἔμελλε. τό τε σύμπαν εἰπείν, χρηματοποιὸς άνηρ εγένετο, δύο τε είναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυναστείας παρασκευάζοντα και φυλάσσοντα και ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα, καὶ ταῦτα 5 δι' άλλήλων συνεστηκέναι τη τε γάρ τροφή τά στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐκ τῶν οπλων συλλέγεσθαι· καν θάτερον οποτερονούν 2 αὐτῶν ἐνδεὲς ή, καὶ τὸ ἔτερον συγκαταλυθήσεσθαι.

Περί μεν οθν τούτων οθτω και έφρόνει άει και 50 έλεγεν ές δε δη την Ίταλίαν, άλλ' οὐκ ές την 'Αφρικήν καίπερ πεπολεμωμένην οί, ήπείχθη ὅτι ταραττόμενα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πυθόμενος ἐφοβήθη

¹ άλλα R. Steph., άλλας L.

² δποτερονοῦν Řeim., δποτέρου οὖν L.

also, since Asander had proved base toward his \$1.47 friend.

After accomplishing this and ordering Domitius to arrange other matters he came to Bithynia and from there to Greece, whence he sailed for Italy, collecting along the way great sums of money from everybody, and upon every pretext, just as before. In the first place, he exacted all that any had previously promised to Pompey, and again, he asked for still more from other sources, bringing various accusations to justify his action. He removed all the votive offerings of Heracles at Tyre, because the inhabitants had received the wife and son of Pompey when they fled. He also got many golden crowns from potentates and kings in honour of his victories. All this he did, not out of malice, but because his expenditures were on a vast scale and because he was intending to lay out still more upon his legions, his triumph, and everything else that gratified his pride. In short, he showed himself a money-getter, declaring that there were two things which created, protected, and increased sovereignties, -soldiers and money,-and that these two were dependent upon For it was by proper maintenance, he each other. said, that armies were kept together, and this maintenance was secured by arms; and in case either one of them were lacking, the other also would be overthrown at the same time.

About these matters he ever thought and spoke thus. Now it was to Italy that he hurried and not to Africa, although the latter region had become hostile to him, because he learned of the disturbances in the capital and feared that they might be carried

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2 μη και ές ανήκεστον προχωρήση. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακὸν οὐδένα οὐδέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰργάσατο, πλὴν ὅτι κἀνταῦθα πολλὰ ἠργυρολόγησε, τὰ μέν τινα έν δωρεᾶς μέρει, στεφάνους καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαθτα, λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ δανειζόμενος δήθεν, ούχ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν 3 άλλα και παρά των πόλεων. τοῦτο γάρ τὸ ὄνομα ταις ἐκλογαίς τῶν χρημάτων, ἐφ' αις μηδεμία ἄλλη πρόφασις εὔλογος ῆν, ἐτίθετο, ἐπεὶ τήν γε άλλως καὶ βιαίως, οὐδὲν ήττον τῶν ὀφειλομένων, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἔμελλε μηδέποτε άποδοθήσεσθαι. έλεγε μέν γάρ υπέρ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ οἰκεῖα δεδαπανηκέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο 4 καὶ δανείζεσθαι· ὅθενπερ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς άξιουντος του πλήθους γενέσθαι ουκ εποίησεν, είπων ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω" εὔδηλος δὲ έγίγνετο καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τῆ δυναστεία παρασπώ-5 μενος. οι τε οθν άλλοι διὰ τοθτο ήχθοντο αθτώ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖρος τῶν γὰρ δεδημευμένων συχνά, καὶ ύπερ την άξίαν γε έστιν α, ελπίδι τοῦ προῖκα αὐτὰ εξειν ἀγοράσαντες, πασαν την τιμην ἀποτίνειν ήναγκάζοντο.

51 'Αλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐν³ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο. καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνους τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἑκάστους ἐθεράπευσε. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο τόν τε τόκον τὸν ἐποφειλόμενόν σφισιν ἐξ οὖ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὅσον ἐς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἢν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑνὸς 2 ἀφείς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν κτημάτων, ἐν οἶς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανεισμάτων κατὰ

¹ ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L. 2 ἐταῖροι R. Steph., ἔτεροι L.
3 ἐν supplied by Leuncl

BOOK XLH

to dangerous lengths. Nevertheless, as I have said, 1 B.C 47 he did no harm to any one, except that there, too, he collected large amounts, partly in the shape of crowns and statues and the like which he received as gifts, and partly by "borrowing," as he styled it, not only from individual citizens but also from cities. This term "borrowing" he applied to those levies of money for which there was no other reasonable excuse: for he exacted these sums also in a high-handed way and no less by force than he collected money actually due him, and it was his intention never to repay them. He claimed, indeed. that he had spent his private possessions for the public good and that indeed it was for that reason he was borrowing Accordingly, when the multitude demanded an annulment of debts, he would not grant this, saying: "I, too, owe large amounts." It was easy to see that he was wresting away others' property also by his position of supremacy, and for this his associates as well as others disliked him these men, who had bought a great deal of the confiscated property, in some cases for more than its real value, in the hope of retaining it without paying for it. now found themselves compelled to pay the full price.

But to such persons he paid no attention. Nevertheless, to a certain extent he did court them, too, as individuals. For he made a present to the multitude of all the interest they were owing from the time he had gone to war with Pompey, and he released them from all rent for one year, up to the sum of two thousand sestences; furthermore he raised the valuation on the goods, in terms of which it was required by law for loans to be paid to their

τοὺς νόμους γίγνεσθαι ἔδει, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ άξίαν ἐπαναγαγών, ἐπειδὴ ¹ τῷ πλήθει τῶν δε-3 δημοσιωμένων πολύ πάντα ἐπευώνιστο. τούτους τε οθυ ταθτα πράξας άνηρτήσατο, καὶ τῶν προσεταιριστών τών τε συναγωνιστών τούς μέν Βουλευτάς ίερωσύναις τε καὶ ἀρχαίς ταίς τε ές του λοιπου του έτους εκείνου χρόνον και ταις ές νέωτα ² (ἵνα γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀμείψηται, στρατηγούς τε δέκα ές τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος ἀπέδειξε3 4 καὶ ἱερέας ὑπὲρ τὸ νενομισμένον τοῖς τε γὰρ ποντίφιξι καὶ τοῖς οἰωνισταῖς, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἢν, τοίς τε πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένοις ένα έκάστοις προσένειμε, καίπερ αὐτὸς βουληθεὶς πάσας τὰς 5 ίερωσύνας λαβείν ωσπερ εψήφιστο), τοὺς δὲ ίππέας του τέλους τούς τε έκατοντάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείονας ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν τινας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων καταλέξαι.

52 Τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατόπεδα οὐχ ἡσυχῆ αὐτὸν ἐτάραξε·
πολλὰ γὰρ λήψεσθαι ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ εὐρόμενοι
τῆς μὲν ἀξίας οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς δὲ προσδοκίας
καταδεέστερα, ἐθορύβησαν. ἐν Καμπανία δὲ οἱ
πλείους αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν ᾿Αφρικὴν προπλευ2 σόμενοι, ἢσαν. οὖτοι οὖν τόν τε ⁴ Σαλούστιον
παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀπέκτειναν (στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ
τὴν βουλείαν ⁵ ἀναλαβεῖν ἀπεδέδεικτο), καὶ ἐπειδὴ
καὶ ἐκεῖνος διαφυγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ἡρμην πρὸς
τὸν Καίσαρα ὤρμησε, τὰ γιγνόμενά οἱ δηλώσων,
ἐφέσποντό τε αὐτῷ συχνοὶ μηδενὸς φειδόμενοι,

¹ ἐπειδή Βk., ἐπὶ δὲ L. 2 νέωτα R. Steph., νεώτατα L.

 ³ ἀπέδειξε R. Steph., ἀποδεῖξαι L.
 4 οδυ τόν τε Bk., τε οδυ τὸν L.
 5 βουλείαν Bs., βουλήν L.

worth at the time the loan had been made, in B.C. 47 view of the fact that everything had become much cheaper as a result of the great amount of confiscated property. By these acts he attached the people to himself; and he attached the members of his party and those who had fought for him in the following manner. Upon the senators he bestowed priesthoods and offices, some of them for the rest of that year and some for the next. Indeed, in order to reward a larger number, he appointed ten practors for the next year and more than the customary number of priests; for he added one member each to the pontifices and to the augurs, of whom he was one, and also to the Quindecimviri, 1 as they were called, although he had desired to take all the priesthoods himself, as had been decreed. The knights in the army and the centurions and subordinate officers he conciliated in various ways. especially by appointing some of them to the senate to fill the places of those who had perished.

The legions, however, caused him no slight trouble; for they had expected to receive a great deal, and when they found their rewards inferior to their expectations, though not less, to be sure, than their deserts, they made a disturbance. The most of them were in Campania, being destined to sail on ahead to Africa. These nearly killed Sallust, who had been appointed practor in order to recover his senatorial rank; and when, after escaping them, he set out for Rome to inform Caesar of what was going on, many followed

¹ Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.

καὶ ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐντυχόντων σφέσι καὶ βου-3 λευτάς δύο ἔσφαξαν. ο οὖν Καῖσαρ ώς τάχιστα της προσόδου αὐτῶν ήσθετο, ηθέλησε μὲν τὸ δορυφορικον έπ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιπέμψαι, φοβηθείς δὲ μή καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συστασιάσωσί σφισιν ήσύχασε, μέχρις οὖ ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ δη οδοιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, καὶ ἐπύθετο τί ι βουλόμενοι καὶ τίνος χρήζοντες ήκοιεν. κριναμένων τέ σφων ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐροῦσιν, επέτρεψε μεν αὐτοῖς ες την πόλιν ἄνευ τῶν οπλων, πλην των ξιφών, ἐσελθείν· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει φορεῖν εἰώθεσαν, καὶ 53 τότε οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν καταθέσθαι. δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ὧν καὶ ἐπόνησαν καὶ εκινδύνευσαν, πολλά δε και περί ων ήλπισαν άξίους τέ σφας τυχείν ἔφασκον είναι, καὶ μετά τοῦτο ἀφεθηναί τε της στρατείας άξιούντων καὶ 2 δεινώς διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ίδιωτεῦσαι ἐβούλοντο (ἥκιστα γάρ, ἄτε καὶ συνήθεις ταις πλεονεξίαις έκ πολλού γεγονότες, τουτ' ήθελου) άλλ' ὅτι καταπλήξειν τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πᾶν ότιοῦν καταπράξειν, ἄτε καὶ ύπογύου 1 οί της ές την 'Αφρικήν στρατείας 2 3 ούσης, ενόμιζον, περί μεν των άλλων οὐδέν σφισι τὸ παράπαν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπων μονα "άλλ' ὀρθώς γε, ὧ Κυιρῖται, λέγετε γάρ κεκμήκατε καὶ κατατέτρωσθε" πάντας αὐτους παραχρημα ώς μηδεν δήθεν αὐτῶν δεόμενος διήκε, καὶ τοῖς τὸν τεταγμένον χρόνον ἐστρατευ-

¹ ύπογύου R. Steph., ύπογυίου L.
² στρατείας H. Steph., στρατίας L.
³ Κυιρίται R. Steph., κουιρίται L.

him, sparing no one on their way, but killing, among B.C 47 others whom they met, two senators. Caesar, as soon as he heard of their approach, wished to send his body-guard against them, but fearing that it, too, might join in the mutiny, he remained quiet until they reached the suburbs. While they waited there he sent to them and inquired what wish or what need had brought them. Upon their replying that they would tell him personally he allowed them to enter the city unarmed, except for their swords; for they were regularly accustomed to wear these in the city, and they would not have submitted to laying them aside at that time. They had much to say about the toils and dangers they had undergone and much about what they had hoped for and what they declared they deserved to obtain. Next they asked to be released from service and were very insistent with him upon this point, not that they wished to return to private life,-indeed they were far from anxious for this, since they had long been accustomed to the gains of war,-but because they thought they would scare Caesar in this way and accomplish anything they pleased, since his projected invasion of Africa was close at hand. He, however, made no reply at all to their first statements, but said merely: "Why, of course, Quirites,1 what you say is right; you are naturally weary and worn out with wounds," and then at once disbanded them all as if he had no further need of them, promising that he would give the rewards in

L.c. Citizens.

μένοις καὶ τὰ γέρα ἐντελῆ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. 4 λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων κατεπλάγησαν ἔκ τε τῆς άλλης αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Κυιρίτας άλλ' οὐ στρατιώτας σφᾶς ὧνόμασε, καὶ ταπεινωθέντες φοβηθέντες τε μή πάθωσί τι δεινον μετεβάλουτο, ι και πολλά μεν ίκετεύοντες αὐτὸν είπον. πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ συστρατεύσειν 2 οί εθελουταί και του πόλεμου μόνοι διαπολεμήσειν 5 ύπέσχοντο. ώς οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν, καί τις καὶ των στρατιαρχών εν τοσούτω, ή καὶ ἀφ' εαυτοῦ γνώμης η 3 χαριζόμενος τῷ Καίσαρι, διελέχθη τέ τινα υπέρ αυτών και έδεήθη, "άφίημι μέν" έφη "καὶ ύμᾶς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 6 πάντας, δσοις τὰ τῆς στρατείας ἔτη ἐξήκει· οὐδὲ γαρ οὐδε δέομαί τι ύμῶν τὰ μέντοι γέρα καὶ ως υμιν αποδώσω, ίνα μήποτέ τις είπη ότι έγω χρησάμενος ύμιν έν τοις κινδύνοις έπειτα άχάριστος έγενόμην, εί καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν έρρωμένοι καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδιαπολεμήσαι δυνάμενοι οὐκ ήθελήσατέ μοι συστρατεῦ-54 σαι." και ό μεν ταῦτά τε σοφιζόμενος εἶπε (πάνυ γαρ αὐτῶν ἔχρηζε) καὶ χώραν ἔκ τε τῆς δημοσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δὴ πᾶσί σφισιν ἔνειμεν, ἄλλους άλλη, καὶ πάνυ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀπαρτήσας, ώστε μήτε τοις δμοχώροις σφας φοβερούς μήτ' αθ πρός νεωτερισμόν έτοίμους, καθ' έν που 2 συνοικούντας, γενέσθαι. των τε εποφειλομένων σφίσι χρημάτων, α πολλα και καθ' έκάστην ως είπειν πράξιν ύπέσχητο δώσειν, τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς

3 h supplied by Reim.

¹ μετεβάλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο L. 2 συστρατεύσειν Xiph., συστρατεύειν L.

full to such as had served the appointed time. At BC 47 these words they were struck with alarm both at his intention in general and particularly because he had called them Quirites instead of soldiers; and so, humiliated and fearing they should meet with some severe penalty, they changed front and addressed him with many entreaties and offers, promising that they would join his expedition as volunteers and would carry the war through for him by themselves. When they had reached this stage and one of their leaders also, either on his own impulse or as a favour to Caesar, had said a few words and presented a few petitions in their behalf, he replied: "I discharge both you who are present here and all the rest whose vears of service have expired; for I really have no further need of you. Yet even so I will pay you the rewards, that no one may say that after using you in dangers I later showed myself ungrateful, even though you were unwilling to join my campaign while perfectly strong in body and able to carry through all the wars that remain." This he said for effect, for they were quite indispensable to him. He then assigned them all land from the public holdings and from his own, settling them in different places, and separating them far from one another, so that they should not, by living somewhere together, either be a source of terror to their neighbours or, again, be ready for rebellion. As to the money that he owed them,-and on the eve of practically every action he had promised to give them large amounts, -he offered to pay part immediately and to settle

ἀπαλλάξειν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν καὶ σὺν τόκφ γε 1 διαλύσειν έπηγγείλατο. είπων δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ

δουλωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὥστε μήτε τι θρασύνεσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι, προσεπεῖπεν 3 ''ἀπέχετε μὲν παρ ἐμοῦ πάντα, καὶ οὐδένα ἔθ' ύμῶν ἀναγκάσω στρατεύσασθαι εἰ μέντοι τις έκούσιος ἐθέλοι καὶ τὰ λοιπά μοι συγκατεργάσασθαι, ἡδέως αὐτὸν δέξομαι." ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερήσθησαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως 55 ἀναστρατεύσασθαι ἤθέλησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τούς ταραχώδεις αὐτῶν, οὐ πάντας άλλ' ὅσοι μετρίως πως συνόντες 2 γεωργίαις ζην εδύναντο, άπολέξας τοις λοιποις έχρήσατο. καὶ τουτο καὶ 2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἐποίησεν τοὺς γὰρ πάνυ τε θρασεῖς καὶ ίκανοὺς μέγα τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι έκ μέν τής Ἰταλίας έξήγαγεν. ὅπως μηδέν έκεῖ καταλειφθέντες νεοχμώσωσιν, έν 'Αφρική καὶ μάλα ήδέως, ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἀνάλωσε τούς τε γαρ ἐναντίους ἄμα δι' αὐτῶν κατειργάζετο καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπηλλάττετο. 3 φιλανθρωπότατός τε 3 γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὤν, καὶ πολλὰ κεχαρισμένα τοις τε άλλοις και τοις στρατιώταις μάλιστα ποιών, δεινώς τούς στασιάζοντάς σφων

Ταῦτά τε έν ἐκείνω τῷ ἔτει, ἐν ῷ δικτάτωρ μεν όντως αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον ήρξεν, υπατοι δε έπ' εξόδω αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθέντες ὅ τε Καλῆνος 56 καὶ ὁ Οὐατίνιος ὁ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε, καὶ ές την 'Αφρικήν καίτοι του χειμώνος ένεστη-

έμίσει καὶ ἰσχυρότατα αὐτοὺς ἐκόλαζε.

² συνόντες Rk., δντες L.

[†] τε supplied by R. Steph. † τε supplied by Bk. 5 Οὐατίνιος R. Steph., οὐλτίνιος I.

for the remainder with interest, in the near future, By 47 When he had said this and had so enthralled them that they showed no sign of boldness but even went so far as to express their gratitude, he added "You have all that is due to you from me. and I will compel no one of you to make campaigns any longer. If, however, any one wishes of his own accord to help me accomplish what remains, I will gladly receive him." Hearing this, they were over joyed, and all alike volunteered to serve again. Caesar put aside the turbulent spirits among them. not all to be sure, but as many as were moderately well acquainted with farming and so could make a living, -and the others he used. He did the same also in the case of the rest of his soldiers: those who were overbold and able to cause serious trouble he took away from Italy, in order that they might not be left behind there and begin an insurrection; and he took great satisfaction in using them up in Africa on various pretexts, since at the same time he was destroying his foes through their efforts he was also ridding himself of them. For although he was the kindliest of men and showed many favours not only to the citizens in general but particularly to his soldiers, he bitterly hated those of them who were mutinous and punished them with extreme severity.

These were the things he did in that year in which he really ruled alone as dictator for the second time, though Calenus and Vatinius, appointed near the close of the year, were said to be the consuls. also crossed over to Africa, although winter had set

κότος ἐπεραιώθη. καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ ἐκ τούτου. ανέλπιστος τοίς εναντίοις προσπεσών, κατώρπλείστον γάρ παρά πάντα καὶ τῶ θωσε τάχει καὶ ταῖς ἐκ¹ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου στρατείαις 2 κατέπραττεν, ώστ' εἴ τις ἐκλογίζοιτο ³ ὅτω τοσούτον των καθ' έαυτον έν τοίς πολεμίοις ύπερήνεγκεν, οὐδὲν ἂν 4 ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον ὂν 2 ἔμπροσθε παραβαλων 5 εύροι. ή δε δή Αφρική ην μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῷ φίλη τῷ Καίσαρι, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν τοῦ Κουρίωνος θάνατον καὶ πάνυ ἐχθρὰ ἐγένετο. ὅ τε γὰρ Οὐᾶρος καὶ ό Ἰόβας τὰ πράγματα είχου, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ό Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οί τε ἄλλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐκεῖσε, ὥσπερ εἶπον, συγκατέφυγον, 3 κάκ τούτου κοινωσάμενοι τον πόλεμον τά τε έν τη ήπείρω εξηρτύσαντο καὶ τη τε Σικελία καὶ τη Σαρδοί ἐπίπλους ἐποιούντο, καὶ τάς τε πόλεις έλύπουν καὶ τὰ πλοία κατήγον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπλα τόν τε σίδηρον τὸν άλλον, οὖπέρ 4 που καλ μόνου έχρηζον, επόριζον, σελευτώντές τε ές τούτο καὶ τῆς παρασκευής καὶ τής διανοίας, ολα μήτε στρατοῦ σφίσιν εναντιουμένου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος έν τε τῆ Αἰγύπτφ καὶ έν τῷ άστει χρονίσαντος, αφίκοντο ώστε και ές την 'Ιβηρίαν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀποστεῖλαι. στασιάζειν τε γαρ αὐτὴν πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἑτοίμως άτε του Πομπηίου του Μάγνου παιδα όντα

6 emopicor supplied by Bs.

¹ & supplied by Reim.

² στρατείαις Η. Steph., στρατιαίς L. ³ ἐκλογίζοιτο R. Steph., ἐκλογίσοιτο L.

^{*} av supplied by Bk.

⁵ παραβαλών R. Steph., παραβάλλων L.

in. And he met with no little success from this B.C. 47 very circumstance, by attacking his opponents unexpectedly. On all occasions, indeed, he accomplished a great deal by his rapidity and by the unexpectedness of his movements, so that if any one should try to find out what it was that made him so superior in the art of war to his contemporaries, he would find by careful comparison that there was nothing more striking than this very characteristic. Now Africa had not been friendly to Caesar in the first place, and after Curio's death it became thoroughly hostile. For Varus and Juba were in charge of affairs, and furthermore Cato, Scipio and their followers had all taken refuge there, as I have stated.1 After this they made common cause in the war, carried on their preparations by land, and also made descents by sea upon Sicily and Sardinia, harrying their cities and taking back their ships, from which they obtained a plentiful supply of arms and of iron in other forms, which alone they lacked. Finally they reached such a state of preparedness and courage that, when no army opposed them and Caesar delayed in Egypt and the capital, they sent Pompey to Spain. For on learning that that country was in revolt they thought that the people would readily receive him as the son

οέξεσθαι 1 νομίσαντες, παρεσκευάζοντο ο μεν ώς τήν τε 2 'Ιβηρίαν διὰ βραχέων κατασχήσων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμήσων, οί δὲ ὡς τὸν πλοῦν 57 άμα του ές τηυ Ίταλίαυ ποιησόμενοι. κατ' άρχας μεν γαρ διατριβή τις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τοῦ τε Οὐάρου τῶ 3 Σκιπίωνι τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσαντος, έπειδη αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτη χωρίοις ήρχε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τῆ νίκη ἐπαιρομένου καὶ 2 τὰ πρῶτα δι' αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντος φέρεσθαι συμφρουήσαντες δε δ τε Σκιπίων και δ Κάτων, οία δ μεν τη άξιώσει δ δε τη συνέσει πολύ πάντων σφών προήκοντες, τούς τε άλλους προσεποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκείνους ἔπεισαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα έπιτρέψαι. ό γαρ Κάτων δυνηθείς αν έξ ίσου 3 αὐτῶ ἡ καὶ μόνος ἄρξαι οὐκ ἡθέλησε, τὸ μὲν ότι βλαβερώτατον τοίς τοιούτοις ήγειτο είναι. τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀξιώματι ήλαττοῦτο αὐτοῦ· πολὺ γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοίς έώρα δυνάμενον τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ νόμφ δή τινι τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο της τε άρχης έκων αὐτῷ παρεχώρησε, καὶ προσέτι 4 καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἐπηγάγετο παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ μεν εκ τούτου τήν τε Ούτικήν, υποπτευθείσαν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονείν και ὀλίγου και ἀνάστατον ύπο των άλλων επί τούτω γενομένην, εξαιτησάμενος ές φυλακήν ύπεδέξατο, και την χώραν τήν τε θάλασσαν την ταύτη πασαν φρουρείν ἐπετράπη τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ 5 ήρχε. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πολύ πάντας

[·] δέξεσθαι Reim., δέξασθαι L.

² ως τήν τε Rk., ωστε την L ³ τφ Leuncl., τφ τε L.

of Pompey the Great, and while he was making pre- Br 47 parations to occupy Spain in a short time and to set out from there to the capital, the others were getting ready to make the voyage to Italy. At first they experienced a slight delay, due to a dispute between Varus and Scipio about the leadership, masmuch as the former had held sway for a longer time in these regions, and Juba also, elated by his victory, demanded that he should have first place because of it. But Scipio and Cato, who far excelled them all in rank and in shrewdness respectively, reached an agreement and won the rest over to it, persuading them to entrust everything to Scipio For Cato, who might have commanded on equal terms with him, or even alone, refused, first, because he thought it a most injurious course in such circumstances, and second, because he was inferior to the other in official rank. He saw that in military matters even more than elsewhere it was very important that the commander should have some legal precedence over the others, and therefore he willingly yielded him the command and furthermore delivered to him the armies that he had brought there After this Cato interceded on behalf of Utica, which was suspected of favouring Caesar's cause and had come near being destroyed by the others on this account, and thus he received it to guard, and the whole country and sea in that vicinity were entrusted to his protection. The other districts were governed by Scipio as commander-in-chief. His very name was a source

τοὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦντάς οἱ ἐπερρώννυε, νομίζοντας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀλόγφ τινὶ πίστει μηδένα ἂν Σκιπίωνα ἐν τῆ ᾿Αφρικῆ κακῶς πρᾶξαι.

Μαθών οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἰδών ὅτι καὶ οἱ μεθ' ξαυτοῦ στρατευόμενοι πεπεισμένοι τε αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχειν εἰσὶ καὶ Φοβοῦνται, προσπαρέλαβέ τινα έκ τε τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν Σκιπιώνων όντα και την προσηγορίαν ταύτην φέροντα 2 (ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σαλουτίων 1), καὶ οὕτω τόν τε πλοῦν πρὸς ᾿Αδρύμητον ἐποιήσατο (τὰ γὰρ ἐν τη Οὐτικη ἰσχυρώς ἐφρουρεῖτο), καὶ ἔλαθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνέλπιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος περαιωθείς. ἐκβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς νεώς συντυχία τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ὑφ' ἡς εἰ καί τι φοβερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐσημαίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτό 3 γε έκεινο ές άγαθον έτρεψεν έπειδη γάρ αμα τω της γης επιβηναι προσέπταισε, καλ αὐτὸν πεσόντα έπι στόμα οι στρατιώται ιδόντες ήθύμησαν καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες έθορύβησαν, διηπορήθη, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνας τὰ χεῖρε 2 τήν τε γην, ώς καὶ έκων δη πεσών, περιέλαβε καὶ κατεφίλησε, καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν "ἔγω 4 'Αφρική." ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ ΄Αδρυμήτῳ, ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ καὶ προσέτι καὶ έκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου βιαίως ἐκβληθεὶς μετέστη πρὸς πόλιν έτέραν 'Ρούσπινα, καὶ δεχθείς ὑπ' αὐτῶν χειμάδιόν τε ἐν αὐτῆ κατεσκευάσατο, καὶ έκείθεν δρμώμενος έπολέμει.

¹ Σαλουτίων Fabr., σαλάττων L.

² τὰ χεῖρε v Herw., τὴν χεῖρα L Xiph. Bekk. Anecd.

of strength to all those who sided with him, since Fr if by some strange, unreasonable hope they believed that no Scipio could meet with misfortune in Africa.

When Caesar learned of this and saw that his own soldiers also were persuaded that it was so and were consequently afraid, he added to his retinue a man of the family of the Scipios who bore that name (he was otherwise known as Salutio 1), and then made the voyage to Hadrumetum, since the neighbourhood of Utica was strictly guarded; and since his crossing in the winter was unexpected, he escaped the enemy's notice. When he had left his ship, an accident happened to him which, even if some disaster was portended to his expedition by Heaven, he nevertheless turned to a good omen. Just as he was setting foot on land he slipped, and the soldiers, seeing him fall on his face, were disheartened and in their chagrin raised an outcry; Caesar, however, did not lose his presence of mind, but stretching out his hands as if he had fallen on purpose, he embraced and kissed the ground, crying out: "I have thee, Africa!" Thereupon he made an assault upon Hadrumetum, but was repulsed and actually driven out of his camp by main force. Then he transferred his position to another city called Ruspina, and being received by the inhabitants, established his winter quarters there and proceeded to carry on the war from that base.

¹ Or Salvito; cf. Plutarch, Caes. 52, and Suetomus, Iul. 59.

Τάδε Ε΄ εστιν εν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαικῶν

- α, 'Ως Καΐσαρ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Ἰόβαν ἐνίκησεν.
- β. 'Ως Νουμιδίαν οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι ἔσχον
- γ 'Ωs Κάτων ξαυτον ἀπέκτεινεν.
- δ 'Ως Καΐσαρ ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε καὶ τάλλα κατεστήσατο.
- 'Ως η τε ἀγορὰ Καίσαρος καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης καθιερώθη.
- Ωs Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον κατεστήσατο.
- η. 'Ως Καΐσαρ Γναΐον Πομπήιον του τοῦ Πομπηίου υίον ἐν Ἰβηρία ἐνίκησεν
- θ. 'Ως πρώτον υπατοι ές ούχ ύλον τὸ έτος ἀπεδείχθησαν.
 - ι. ΄ Ως Καρχηδών καὶ Κόρινθος ἀπφκίσθη
- ια. 'Ως οἱ Κερεάλιοι ἀγορανόμοι κατεστάθησαν

Χρόνου πλήθος έτη τρία. ἐν οἰς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. 'Ιούλιος Γ. υἱ Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ γ΄ ¹
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὅπατος τὸ γ΄ μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἐ
Γ.³ ¹Ιούλιος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ δ΄
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ⁴ ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὅπατος τὸ δ΄ μόνος
Γ.⁵ ¹Ιούλιος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ ϵ΄
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὅπατος τὸ ϵ΄ μετὰ Μ.6 ' Αντωνίου

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει καὶ ἐδικτατόρευσεν ἄμα καὶ ὑπάτευσε, τρίτον ἐκάτερον, τοῦ Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφοτέρωθι τουνάρξαντος.

¹ τὸ γ' St., τοῦ L.

² L. adds ὑπ. after Λεπίδου and ᾿Αντωνίου. Deleted by Bs.

³ Γ. Bs., γάιος L. ⁴ Λεπίδου supplied by Bs.

The following is contained in the Forty-third of Dios Rome:-

How Caesar conquered Scipio and Juba (chaps 1-8)

How the Romans got possession of Numidia (chap. 9).

How Cato slew himself (chaps 10-13)

How Caesar returned to Rome and celebrated his triumph and settled other matters (chaps. 14-21).

How the Forum of Caesar and the Temple of Venus were consecrated (chaps 22-24)

How Caesar manged the year in its present fashion (chap 26)

How Caesar conquered Gnaeus Pompey, the son of Pompey in Spain (chaps 28-41)

How for the first time consuls were appointed for less than an entire year (chap 46).

How Carthage and Corinth received colonies (chap. 50) How the [Ardiles] Cereales were appointed (chap. 51).

Duration of time, three years, in which there were the magistrates here enumerated —

46 C Iulius C. F. Caesar, dictator (III), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (III) with Aemilius Lepidus.

45 C. Iulius Caesar, dictator (IV), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (IV) alone.

44 C. Iulius Caesar, dictator (V), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (V) with M Antonius.

Such were Caesar's experiences at that time. The following year he became both dictator and consul at once, holding each of the offices for the third time, and with Lepidus as his colleague in both

7 αμφοτέρωθι v. Herw. αμφοτέροις L.

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⁵ r. supplied by Bs ⁶ M supplied by Bs.

έπειδη γάρ δικτάτωρ ύπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον έλέχθη, παραχρημά τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ές την Ίβηρίαν την πλησιαιτέραν έστειλε. 2 καὶ ἐπανελθόντα ἐπινικίοις, μήτε τινὰς νικήσαντα μήτ' ἀρχὴν μαχεσάμενόν τισιν, ἐτίμησε, πρόφασιν ότι τοῖς ὑπό τε τοῦ Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ 3 Μαρκέλλου πραχθείσι παρεγένετο. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἔπεμψέ τι ἐπ' άληθείας, πλὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἃ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐσεσυλήκει. τούτοις τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἤγηλε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνάρχοντα έκατέρωθι προσείλετο. Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἤδη οί τε ἐν τῆ 'Ρώμη εταράχθησαν υπό σημείων λύκος τε γαρ εν αυτή ώφθη, καὶ γοιρος ἐλέφαντι πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν δμοιος έγεννήθη κάν τη Αφρική δ τε Πετρείος καὶ ὁ Λαβιήνος τηρήσαντες τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς 2 κώμας ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐξεληλυθότα, τήν τε ἵππον αὐτοῦ μηδέπω καλῶς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρρωμένην τούς πεζούς τοίς Νομάσι κατήραξαν, καὶ συνταραχθείσης πρὸς τοῦτο της ἀσπίδος πολλοὺς μεν αὐτῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντας δ' ἂν

3 τι ἐξέκοψαν, εἰ μὴ ἰσχυρῶς ἐτρώθησαν. ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς, τοὐτου συμβεβηκότος, τὸν Καίσαρα κατέπληξαν. λογιζόμενος μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ὀλίγων ἔπταισε, προσδεχόμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τόν τε Ἰόβαν πάσαις, ὥσπερ ἠγγέλλοντο, ταῖς δυνάμεσιν εὐθὺς ἀφίξεσθαι, διηπόρει

καλ τούς λοιπούς ανειληθέντας έπλ μετέωρον

4 καὶ οὖκ εἶχεν ὅ τι πράξη: τόν τε γὰρ πόλεμον μηδέπω καλῶς διενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐν

ήγηλε Xyl., ήγγειλε L.
 κατήραξαν Turneb., κατήρξαν L.

Instances. For when he had been named dictator by BC. 46 Lepidus the first time, he had sent him immediately after his praetorship into Hither Spain; and upon his return he had honoured him with a triumph, although Lepidus had conquered no foes nor so much as fought with any, the pretext being that he had been present at the exploits of Longinus and of Marcellus. Accordingly, he sent home nothing, as a matter of fact, except the money he had plundered from the allies. Caesar besides exalting Lepidus with these honours chose him later as his colleague in both the positions mentioned.

When now they were in office, the people of Rome were disturbed by prodigies; for a wolf was seen in the city, and a pig was born resembling an elephant save for its feet. In Africa, Petreius and Labienus, after waiting until Caesar had gone out to villages after grain, drove his cavalry, which had not vet thoroughly recovered its strength after the seavoyage, back upon the infantry with the aid of the Numidians: and while the latter as a result was in great confusion, they killed many of the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting. Indeed, they would also have cut down all the others, who had crowded together on some high ground, had they not received grievous wounds themselves. Even so, they alarmed Caesar not a little by this deed. For considering how he had been checked by a few, and expecting, too, that Scipio and Juba would arrive directly with all their forces, as it was reported they would, he was greatly embarrassed and did not know what course to adopt. For he was not yet able to carry through the war to a satisfactory conclusion; and he saw that to

ταὐτῷ μονὴν χαλεπήν, κὰν οί πολέμιοί σφων απέχωνται, δια την της τροφης απορίαν, την τε ανάστασιν αδύνατον των πολεμίων καὶ έκ της ηπείρου καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπικειμένων οἱ ὁρῶν οδσαν, ηθύμει.

'Ενταθθ' οθν αθτώ όντι Πούπλιός τις Σίττιος, είγε ἐκείνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον δεί λέγειν, τήν τε σωτηρίαν αμα καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἔδωκεν. οὖτος γὰρ ἐξέπεσε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, παραλαβων δε συμφυγάδας τινάς και περαιωθείς ές 2 Μαυριτανίαν χειρά τε ήθροισε, και παρά τώ Βόκχω στρατηγήσας ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Καίσαρι, μήτε τινα εύεργεσίαν αύτου προέχων μήτ' άλλως έν γνώσει οἱ ὤν, τοῦ τε πολέμου συναείρασθαι καὶ 3 τὰ παρόντα συγκατεργάσασθαι. κάκ τούτου αὐτῶ μὲν ἐκείνω οὐκ ἐπήμυνε πόρρω τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤκουεν ὄντα, καὶ βραχύ τι ὑφ' έαυτοῦ (οὐ γάρ πω μεγάλην ἰσχὺν εἶχεν) ὡφελήσεσθαι ενόμιζε τον δε δη Ιόβαν εκστρατεύσαντα τη-4 ρησας ές τε την Νουμιδίαν ενέβαλε, και ταύτην τε² και την Γαιτουλίαν μέρος της άρχης αὐτοῦ ουσαν έλυμήνατο, ώστε τον βασιλέα των τε έν γερσίν ἀφέσθαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς όδοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀναστρέψαι ἔστι γὰρ ὅ τι καὶ 5 τῶ Σκιπίωνι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεμψεν. ἐξ οὖπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος έληλύθει, οὐκ ἄν ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντέσχεν. οὖκουν οὐδὲ μόνφ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συμβαλεῖν³ εὖθὺς έτόλμησε τά τε γαρ άλλα καὶ τοὺς έλέφαντας, τὸ μέν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ μάχη, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ὅτι τὸ

[&]quot; TE Bk. . YE I. 1 ijapotos Bk., nirnoc L 3 συμβαλείν Bk., συμβάλλειν L.

stay in the same place was difficult because of the B. 46 lack of subsistence, even if the foe should leave his troops alone, and that to retire was impossible, with the enemy pressing upon him both by land and by sea Consequently he was dispirited.

He was still in this position when one Publius Sittius (if, indeed, we ought to say it was he, and not rather Providence) brought to him at one stroke salvation and victory. This man had been exiled from Italy, and taking with him some fellow-exiles and crossing over into Mauretania, he had collected a force and served as general under Bocchus; and although he had previously received no benefit from Caesar, and was not known to him at all, in fact, he undertook to assist him in the war and help him overcome his present difficulties. In pursuance of this plan he did not go to the aid of Caesar himself, for he heard that he was at a distance and thought that his own assistance would prove of small value to him, since he had as yet no large body of troops, but waited, instead, until Juba set out on his expedition, and then he invaded Numidia, harrying it and Gaetulia (a part of Juba's dominion) so completely that the king gave up the matter in hand and turned back in the midst of his march with most of his army; for he also sent a part of it to Scipio at the same time. This fact made it very clear that if Juba had also come up, Caesar could never Indeed, he did not so have withstood the two. much as venture to join issue with Scipio alone at first, because he stood in great dread of the elephants, among other things, partly on account of their fighting abilities, but still more because they

4 ίππικον αὐτοῦ ἐτάρασσον, δεινῶς ἐδεδίει. ἐν φυλακή οὖν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς ὅσον ἐδύνατο ποιών ὁ Καίσαρ στρατιώτας τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐλέφαντας μετεπέμπετο, οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἀξιόμαχόν τι δι' αὐτῶν δράσων (οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἢσαν), ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ ἵπποι πρός τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν ἐκμελετήσωσιν οὐδὲν ἔτι τούς των πολεμίων φοβείσθαι.

Κάν τούτω οί τε Γαίτουλοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτεροί τινες τῶν πλησιοχώρων, τὰ μὲν δι' ἐκείνους, ἐπειδή σφας μεγάλως τιμηθέντας ἤκουσαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῆ τοῦ Μαρίου μνήμη, ὅτι 3 προσήκων αὐτοῦ ἦν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, και οί ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας βραδέως μὲν καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ύπό τε του χειμώνος καὶ ύπὸ τών πολεμίων περαιωθέντες, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἢλθόν ποτε, οὐκέθ' ήσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἡπείχθη πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν 4 φθάση τὸν Σκιπίωνα προκατεργασάμενος. καὶ προχωρήσας επ' αὐτὸν πρὸς πόλιν Οὐζζίττα επὶ λόφου τινός, ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄμα αὐτῶν ὄντος, ίδρύθη, προεκκρούσας 1 τούς κατέχοντας αὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσπεσόντα οἱ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀπό τε τοῦ μετεώρου άπεδίωξε καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπικαταδραμών 5 ἐκάκωσε. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ χωρίον κατέσχε καὶ ενετειχίσατο, καὶ ετερον επὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως, τον Λαβιηνον επ' αὐτοῦ² κρατήσας, ἔλαβε κάκ τούτου και πασαν αὐτὴν ἀπετείχισεν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων δείσας μη προαναλωθή, ές μάχην μέν

¹ προεκκρούσας R. Steph., προσεκκρούσας L. 2 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Reim., ἀπ' αὐτοῦ L.

kept throwing his cavalry into confusion. Therefore, while keeping as strict guard over the camp
as he could, he sent to Italy for soldiers and elephants. He did not count on the latter, to be sure,
for any considerable military achievement, since
there were not many of them, but desired that the
horses, by becoming accustomed to the sight and
sound of them, should learn to have no further fear

of those belonging to the enemy.

Meanwhile the Gaetulians came over to his side. and also some of their neighbours, partly on account of the Gaetulians, since they heard these had been highly honoured, and partly through remembrance of Marius, since Caesar was a relative of his. When this had occurred, and his reinforcements from Italy. in spite of delay and danger due to the winter and the enemy, had at length crossed over, he no longer remained quiet, but, on the contrary, hastened forward to battle, in order to overpower Scipio before Juba's arrival. He moved forward against him in the direction of a city called Uzitta. where he took up his quarters on a crest overlooking both the city and the enemy's camp, having first dislodged those who were holding it. Later, when Scipio attacked him, he drove him away also from the higher ground, and by charging down after him with his cavalry did him some injury. So he held this position and fortified it; and he also took another hill on the other side of the city by defeating Labienus on it, after which he walled off the entire place. For Scipio, fearing his own power might be spent too soon, would no longer risk a

6 οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἤει, τὸν δὲ 'Ίοβαν μετεπέμπετο, καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ὑπήκουέν οἱ, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῆ 'Αφρικῆ τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ὄντα χαρίσασθαι ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ μὲν Σιττίῳ ἄλλους ἀντέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα αὖθις ὥρ-

μησεν. 'Εν 🕉 δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπείρασε μεν πάντα τρόπον ές χειρας τον Σκιπίωνα ύπαγαγέσθαι, μη δυνηθείς δε λόγους τε φιλίους ές τους στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ καθῆκε καὶ βιβλία 2 βραχέα διέρριψεν, ύπισχνούμενος δι' αὐτῶν τῷ μεν επιχωρίω τά τε οίκεια ακέραια τηρήσειν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφήσειν, τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίφ τήν τε άδειαν καὶ τὰ γέρα ὰ καὶ τοῖς συνοῦσίν οί ὤφειλε δώσειν καὶ συχνούς γε ἐκ τούτου 3 προσεποιήσατο. Σκιπίων δε επεχείρησε μεν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ βιβλία καὶ λόγους ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐσβαλεῖν ὡς καὶ σφετερισόμενος τινας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεταστήσαι αὐτοὺς ήδυνήθη, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ αν και τα εκείνου τινές ανθείλοντο, είπερ 4 τι των δμοίων ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄθλον μέν σφισιν οὐδὲν ὑπισχνεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ δῆμον τὸν των 'Ρωμαίων τήν τε γερουσίαν άλλως έλευθερωσαι αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει. καὶ οὕτως, ἐν ὧ δὴ τὰ εὐπρεπέστερα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρησιμώτερα τοις παροῦσιν ἡρεῖτο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν ώκειώσατο.

Μέχρι μὲν οὖν μόνος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω ἢν, ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ
Ἰόβας ἐπῆλθεν, ἠλλοιώθη. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ
προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς μάχην, καὶ μὴ

1 ανθείλουτο Melber, ανείλουτο L.

battle with Caesar, but kept sending for Juba; and BLC. 40 when the latter would not obey his summons, Scipio promised to make him a present of all the territory that the Romans had in Africa. Juba then appointed others to take charge of the operations against Sittius and in person once more set out against Caesar.

While this was going on Caesar tried in every way to draw Scipio into conflict. Baffled in this, he made friendly overtures to the latter's soldiers, and distributed among them pamphlets, in which he promised to the native that he would preserve his possessions unharmed and leave the people themselves free, and to the Roman that he would grant him pardon and the same prizes he had offered to his In this way he gained over a goodly number. Scipio in like manner undertook to circulate both pamphlets and verbal offers among his opponents, with a view to winning some to himself; but he was unable to induce them to change sides. This was not because some of them would not have chosen his cause by preference, if any offers similar to Caesar's had been made; it was due rather to the fact that he did not promise them any prize, but merely urged them to liberate the Roman people and the senate. And so, inasmuch as he chose the course that was more becoming to acknowledge rather than the one that was more expedient for the situation in which he found himself. he failed to gain over any of them.

So long, then, as Scipio alone was in the camp. matters went on thus, but when Juba also came up, the situation was changed. For they both tried to provoke their opponents to battle and harassed them

when they were unwilling to contend; moreover BC. 46 with their cavalry they inflicted serious injuries upon any of them who were scattered to a distance. Caesar was not disposed to come to close quarters with them if he could help it. He prevented their walling him in, secured a bare subsistence for his troops, and kept sending for other forces from home. These reached him only after much delay and difficulty, for they had not all been together, but were collected gradually and lacked boats in which to cross in a body. When at length they did reach him and he had added them to his army, he took courage once more and leading out his forces against the foe, arrayed them in front of the intrenchments. Seeing this, his opponents marshalled themselves in turn, but did not join issue with them. This continued for several days. For apart from brief cavalry skirmishes, after which they would retire, neither side risked any movement worth speaking of.

Accordingly, when Caesar perceived that because of the nature of the land he could not force them to engage in conflict unless they chose, he set out for Thapsus, in order that he might either engage them, if they came to the help of the city, or might at least capture the place, if they left it to its fate. Now Thapsus is situated on a kind of peninsula, with the sea stretching along on one side and a lake on the other; the isthmus between them is so narrow and marshy that one reaches the town by two roads, only a little way apart, running along either side of the marsh close to the shore. On his way toward this city Caesar, when he had got inside the narrowest point, proceeded to dig

και έσταύρου, και έκείνοι μεν ούδεν πραγμα αὐτῷ παρείχον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι), ὁ δὲ δη Σκιπίων και δ Ἰόβας ἐπεχείρησαν τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, καθ' δ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τελευτậ, σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρεύμασι διχή διαλαβόντες 8 ανταποτειχίσαι. εν έργω δε αύτων όντων καί πολύ καθ' έκάστην ήμέραν ἀνυόντων (ὅπως γάρ τοι θᾶσσον διατειχίσωσι, τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καθ' δ μηδέπω διετετάφρευτο 1 άλλ' εὐέφοδόν τι τοῖς πολεμίοις ήν προσέταξαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντες 2 είργάζουτο) επέθετο δ Καΐσαρ αἰφνίδιου τοῖς έτέροις τοῖς ² περί του Σκιπίωνα, καί έλέφαντας πόρρωθεν σφενδόναις καὶ τοξεύμασιν έκταράξας έφέσπετό τε αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρήσασι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις προσμίξας καὶ ἐκείνους ἐτρέψατο, καί σφισι φυγοῦσιν ἐς 3 τὸ ἔρυμα συνεσπεσών αὐτοβοεὶ αὐτὸ εἶλεν. ἰδών δὲ ταθτα ὁ Ἰόβας οὕτως ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἔδεισεν ώς μήτε ές χειράς τινι υπομείναι έλθειν μήτε 4 τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακής ποιήσασθαι. ἐκείνος μεν οθν φυγών και οίκαδε επειχθείς, επειτ' επειδή μηδείς αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σιττίου τοὺς άντικαταστάντας οἱ προνενικηκότος, ἐδέξατο. ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τῷ Πετρείφ μηδεμίαν μηδ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίδα ἀδείας ἔχοντι ἐμονομά-9 χησε καὶ συναπέθανε. Καῖσαρ δὲ τό τε σταύρωμα εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε, καὶ φόνον πλείστον τῶν προστυχόντων ἀπάντων σφίσιν ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν μεταστάντων κάκ τούτου τάς τε άλλας πόλεις ἐφείσατο.

2 rois supplied by Reim.

¹ διετετάφρευτο Reim., διετάφρευτο L.

a ditch and to erect a palisade. The townspeople caused him no trouble, as they were no match for him; but Scipio and Juba undertook in their turn to wall off the neck of the isthmus, where it comes to an end at the mainland, by running palisades and ditches across from both sides. They were engaged in this work and were making great progress every day (for in order that they might build the walls across more quickly they had stationed the elephants along the portion not yet protected by a ditch and hence easy for the enemy to attack, while on the remaining portions were working), when Caesar suddenly attacked the men who were with Scipio, and by using slings and arrows from a distance threw the elephants into great confusion. Then as they retreated he not only followed them up, but fell upon the workers unexpectedly and routed them, too; and when they fled into their camp, he dashed in with them and captured it without a blow upon seeing this, was so startled and terrified that he ventured neither to come to close quarters with any one nor even to keep the camp under guard: so he fled and hastened homeward. And then, when no one received him, especially since Sittius had already overpowered all opposition, Juba, despairing of safety, fought in single combat with Petreius, who likewise had no hope of pardon, and together they died. Caesar, immediately after Juba's flight, captured the palisade and caused great slaughter among all who came in the way of his troops, sparing not even those who came over to his side. Next he brought the rest of

2 μηδενὸς ἀνθισταμένου παρεστήσατο, καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβων ές τε το υπήκοον ἐπήγαγε καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίω λόγω μὲν ἄρχειν ἔργω δὲ ἄγειν τε και φέρειν επέτρεψεν. αμέλει και εδωροδόκησε πολλά καὶ ήρπασεν, ώστε καὶ κατηγορηθή-3 ναι καὶ 1 αἰσχύνην αἰσχίστην ὀφλεῖν,² ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας καὶ πολλά καὶ πικρά

περί τῶν ἐκκαρπουμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τῶ ἔργω τοὺς λόγους. ὅθεν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' αὐτός γε έαυτὸν καὶ πάνυ τῆ συγγραφῆ ἐστηλοκόπησε.

Τοῦτό τε οὖν οῧτως ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τη Λιβύη ταῦτα τὸ μὲν περὶ την Καρχηδόνα, δ δη καὶ ᾿Αφρικὴν καλοῦμεν, παλαιόν, ὅτι ἐκ πολλοῦ κατείργαστο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομάδων νέον, ὅτι 5 νεωστὶ εἴληπτο, ἐπωνομάσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐκ μὲν της μάχης έφυγε, και πλοίου επιτυχών ές την Ίβηρίαν πρός τε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπῆρεν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαυριτανίαν καὶ τὸν Σίττιον φοβηθεὶς έαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

10 "Ο τε Κάτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συγκαταφυγόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλῶν παρεσκευάζετο τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τρόπον τινα αμύνασθαι δο δε οί τε Οὐτικήσιοι,

2 άτε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐχθρωδῶς τῷ Καίσαρι έχοντες καὶ τότε νενικηκότα αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες, οὐκ έπείθοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τῶν τε ίππέων παρόντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ συλληφθῶσιν ύπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο, αὐτὸς μὲν οὖτ' ἀντιπολεμῆσαι (οὐδὲ 4 γὰρ οἶός τε ἢν) οὖτ'

καl supplied by Xyl.
 ὀφλεῖν Bs., ὀφλῆσαι L.
 ἀμύνασθαι Pflugk, ἀμύνεσθαι L.
 ἀνόδὲ Bk., οὔτε L.

the cities to terms, meeting with no opposition; and BC 46 taking over the Numidians, he reduced them to the status of subjects, and delivered them to Sallust, nominally to rule, but really to harry and plunder. At all events this officer took many bribes and confiscated much property, so that he was not only accused but incurred the deepest disgrace, inasmuch as after writing such treatises as he had, and making many bitter remarks about those who fleeced others, he did not practice what he preached. Therefore, even if he was completely exonerated by Caesar, yet in his history, as upon a tablet, the man himself had chiselled his own condemnation all too well.

This affair, then, turned out thus. As for these districts in Libya, the region surrounding Carthage, which we also call Africa, was called the old province, because it had long ago been subjugated, whereas the region of the Numidians was called the new province, because it had been newly captured. Scipio, who had fled from the battle, chanced upon a ship and set sail for Spain to go to Pompey. But he was cast ashore in Mauretania, and through fear of Sittus made away with himself.

Cato, since many had sought refuge with him, was at first preparing to take a hand in affairs and to resist Caesar as best he might. But the people of Utica had not been hostile to Caesar in the first place, and now, seeing him victorious, would not listen to Cato; and the members of the senate and the knights who were present were afraid of being arrested by them, and so meditated flight. Cato himself, therefore, decided neither to war against Caesar,

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3 αὖ προσχωρήσαι 1 τῷ Καίσαρι ἔγνω, οὐχ ὅτι τι έδεδίει (καὶ γὰρ εὐ ἡπίστατο καὶ πάνυ αν σπουδάσαντα αὐτὸν ξαυτοῦ, τῆς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία δόξης ένεκα, φείσασθαι), άλλ' ὅτι τῆς έλευθερίας ἰσχυρῶς ἤρα, καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι οὐδενὸς ἐς οὐδὲν² ἐβούλετο, τοῦ τε θανάτου πολὺ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος έλεον χαλεπώτερον ήγειτο είναι. 4 συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ διερωτήσας ὅποι ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὥρμηται, ἐκείνους μὲν μετ' ἐφοδίων ἐξέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ υἱεῖ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα έλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε. πυθομένου τε τοῦ νεανίσκου "διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖς;" 5 άπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν ἔν τε ἐλευθερία καὶ ἐν παρρησία τραφεὶς οὐ δύναμαι τὴν δουλείαν έκ μεταβολής έπι γήρως μεταμαθείν σοι δ' έν τοιαύτη καταστάσει καὶ γεννηθέντι καὶ τραφέντι τον δαίμονα τον λαχόντα σε θεραπεύειν προσ-

Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας, καὶ τοῖς Οὐτικησίοις τήν τε 11 διοίκησιν ἀπολογισάμενος 3 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα αὐτῶν εἶχεν ἀποδούς, προαπαλλαγήναι πρὸ τής τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως ήθέλησε. 2 καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησε τοῦτο ποιήσαι ο τε γάρ υίδς και οι άλλοι οί περί αὐτὸν ὄντες φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ εἶχον ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑσπέρα έγένετο, ξιφίδιόν τέ τι κρύφα ύπο το προσ-κεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκε, καὶ το τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλίον τὸ περὶ της ψυχης αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ήτησε, 3 εἴτ' οὖν πόρρω τῆς ὑποψίας τοῦ τι τοιοῦτο βουλεύσασθαί τοὺς παρόντας ἀπαγαγεῖν σπουδά-

ήκει."

¹ προσχωρήσαι Η. Steph., προχωρήσαι L. 2 οὐδενὸς ἐς οὐδὲν Β. Steph., ἐς οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν L.

³ απολογισάμενος Bk., απολογησάμενος L.

being unable to do so anyhow, nor yet to go over BC. 46 to his side. This was not because of any fear, since he understood well enough that Caesar would be very eager to spare him for the sake of his reputation for humanity; but it was because he passionately loved freedom, and would not brook any defeat at the hands of anybody, and regarded Caesar's pity as far more hateful than death. So he called together the citizens who were present, enquired where each one of them was intending to go, sent them forth with supplies for their journey, and bade his son go to Caesar. To the youth's inquiry, "Why, then, do you also not do so?" he replied: "I, who have been brought up in freedom, with the right of free speech, cannot in my old age change and learn slavery instead; but for you, who were both born and brought up amid such a condition, it is proper to serve the divinity that presides over your fortunes."

When he had done this and had given to the people of Utica an account of his administration and returned to them the surplus funds, as well as whatever else of theirs he had, he wished to be rid of life before Caesar's arrival. He did not undertake to do this by day, inasmuch as his son and others surrounding him kept him under surveillance; but when evening was come, he secretly slipped a dagger under his pillow, and asked for Plato's book On the Soul.¹ This was either in the endeavour to divert those present from the suspicion that he had any

¹ The Phaedo.

σας, ὅπως ώς ἥκιστα παρατηρηθή, εἴτε καὶ παραμύθιόν τι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως αὐτοῦ λαβείν ἐπιθυμήσας. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνό τε 4 ανελέξατο καὶ ή νὺξ ἐμέσου, τό τε ἐγχειρίδιον ύφείλκυσε. 2 καὶ έαυτον έπὶ την γαστέρα παίσας εὐθὺς ἂν ἐτελεύτησεν ἔξαιμος γενόμενος, εἰ μὴ καταπεσών εκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου ψόφον τε εποίησε καὶ τοὺς προκοιτοῦντας εξήγειρε. καὶ οὕτως ὅ τε υίὸς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐσπεσόντες τά τε ἔντερα αὐτοῦ ἐς τῆν γαστέρα αὖθις κατέσαξαν καὶ 5 θεραπείαν αὐτῷ προσήγαγον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τό τε ξιφίδιον ήραν καὶ τὰς θύρας ἔκλεισαν, ὅπως ὕπνου λάχη (οὖ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν προσεδόκησαν): ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔς τε τὸ τραῦμα τὰς χείρας ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰς ραφάς αὐτοῦ διαρρήξας ἀπέψυξεν.

Ο μὲν οὖν Κάτων καὶ δημοτικώτατος καὶ ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος 5 πάντων τῶν καθ ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος μεγάλην δόξαν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν Οὐτικήσιος, ὅτι τε ἐν τῆ Οὐτικῆ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε καὶ

12 ὅτι δημοσία ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐτάφη, κτήσασθαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐκείνω μὲν ὀργίζεσθαι ἔφη ὅτι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ τῆ σωτηρία αὐτοῦ εὐκλείας ἐφθόνησε, τὸν δὲ νίὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείους ἀφῆκεν, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, ὅπως ἀμβλυτέρω αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γενομένω προσ-

² δφείλκυσε Dind., εφείλκυσε L.

4 κατέσαξαν Naber, κατέταξαν L.

¹ εμέσου Bk., εμεσούτο L.

³ προκοιτοῦντας R. Steph., προσκοιτοῦντας L.

⁵ και Ισχυρογνωμονέστατος R.k., και Ισχυρότατος και Ισχυρογνωμονέστατος L.

such purpose in mind, in order to be observed as p.c. 46 little as possible, or else in the desire to obtain some consolation in respect to death from the reading of it. When he had read the work through and it was now near midnight, he drew forth the dagger, and smote himself upon the belly. He would have died immediately from loss of blood, had he not in falling from the low couch made a noise and roused those who were keeping guard before his door. Thereupon his son and some others who rushed in put his bowels back into his belly again, and brought medical attendance for him. Then they took away the dagger and locked the doors, that he might obtain sleep; for they had no idea of his perishing in any other way. But he thrust his hands into the wound and broke the stitches of it, and so expired.

Thus Cato, who had proved himself at once the most democratic and the strongest-minded of all the men of his time, acquired great glory even from his very death and obtained the title of Uticensis, both because he had died in Utica, as described, and because he was publicly buried by the inhabitants. Caesar declared that he was angry with him, because Cato had begrudged him the distinction of saving such a man, and he released his son and most of the others, as was his custom; for they came over to him of their own accord, some at once, and others later, so as to approach him after time should have

2 έλθωσιν, έθελονταί προσεχώρησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσώθησαν, ᾿Αφράνιος δὲ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐκόντες μὲν οὐκ ἢλθον πρὸς αὐτόν (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἤδεσαν ἀπολούμενοι), φυγόντες δὲ ἐς Μαυριτανίαν συνελήφθησαν ύπο του Σιττίου, και έκείνους μεν ακρίτους δ 3 Καίσαρ ώς και αίχμαλώτους ἀπέσφαξεν τὸν δὲ δη Καίσαρα του Λούκιου, καίπερ εν γένει οἱ όντα καὶ ἐθελούσιον ἱκετεύσαντα, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ παντός αὐτώ προσεπεπολεμήκει, τὸ μὲν πρώτον άποδικήσαι ἐκέλευσεν ώστε ἐν δίκη τινὶ κατεψηφίσθαι αὐτοῦ δόξαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ὀκνήσας αὐτὸν τη ξαυτού φωνη θανατώσαι τότε μεν άνεβάλετο,1 13 ύστερον δὲ καὶ κρύφα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ γὰο τῶν συνόντων οί τους ούκ επιτηδείους τους μεν πρός των εναντίων οὐκ ἀκουσίως ἀπέβαλλε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφετέρων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν 2 αὐταῖς ταῖς μάγαις ἀπόλλυσθαι ἐποίει, οὐ γάρ τοι καὶ Φανερώς πᾶσι τοῖς λυπήσασί τι αὐτόν, ώσπερ είπου, ἐπεξήει, ἀλλ' ὅσους μηδενὶ ἀξιόχρεω ἐγκλήματι μετελθείν εδύνατο, εν τρόπω δή τινι άφανει ύπεξήρει, καίτοι τότε τὰ γράμματα, ὅσα έν τοις απορρήτοις του Σκιπίωνος κιβωτίοις 3 εύρέθη, πάντα καύσας πρίν άναγνωναι, καὶ των άντιπολεμησάντων οί πολλούς μέν δι' αὐτούς έκείνους πολλούς δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς φίλους σώσας. τών τε γάρ συναγωνιστών καὶ τών έταίρων³

ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.
 ἀπέβαλλε Cobet, ἀπεβάλλετο L.

^{*} έταίρων R. Steph., έτέρων L.

blunted his anger. So these were spared; but B.C. 46 Afranius and Faustus would not come to him of their own free will, feeling sure of being put to death, but fled to Mauretania, where they were captured by Sittius. Caesar put them to death, as captives, without a trial; but in the case of Lucius Caesar, though the man was related to him and came as a voluntary suppliant, nevertheless, since he had fought against him throughout, he at first bade him stand trial, so that he might seem to have condemned him with some show of legality. and then, as he shrank from putting him to death by his own vote, he postponed the trial for the time being, but afterward killed him secretly. Indeed, even in the case of those of his own followers who did not suit him he willingly lost some at the hands of the enemy and deliberately caused others to perish in the midst of the fighting at the hands of their own comrades. For as I have said, he did not attack openly all who had injured him, but any whom he could not prosecute on a plausible charge he quietly put out of the way in some obscure fashion. And vet on this occasion he burned unread all the papers that were found in the private chests of Scipio, while of the men who had fought against him he spared many for their own sake, and many also for the sake of their friends. For, as I have stated, he always allowed each of his soldiers

¹ It was Caesar's regular custom to spare those who were taken captive for the first time, but to put them to death if they were captured again (cf. xli. 62, xlui. 17, xliv. 45 f.; Suet. Iul 75). Hence some would read here "as captives for the second time" (&s κal $\pi \rho l \nu$, or &s $\delta l s$, $\alpha l \chi u a \lambda \dot{\omega} \tau o \nu s$). But, as Boissevain points out, the contrast here is merely between captives and a voluntary suppliant.

έκάστω ενα έξαιτείσθαι, ώσπερ είρηται, έπέτρεπε. 4 καὶ δη καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα ἔσωσεν ἄν οὕτω γὰρ αυτον έτεθαυμάκει 2 ώστε τοῦ Κικέρωνος εγκώμιον μετὰ ταΰτα αὐτοῦ γράψαντος άγανακτήσαι μεν μηδέν, καίπερ καὶ ἐκείνου οἱ προσπολεμήσαντος, βιβλίον δέ τι γράψαι δ 'Αντικάτωνα έπεκάλεσε.

14 Καίσαρ μὲν ταῦτά τε πράξας, καὶ τοὺς άφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι, μἡ καὶ στασιάσωσιν αὖθις, ἀπαλλάξας, τά τε ἄλλα 2 τὰ ἐν τῆ ᾿Αφρικῆ διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα, καταστήσας, μέχρι μεν της Σαρδούς παντί τῷ ναυτικώ έπλευσεν, έντευθεν δε έκείνους μεν ές τε την Ίβηρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετά Γαίου Διδίου έπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εκομίσθη, τὸ μεν πλείστον επὶ 3 τῆ τῶν ἔργων λαμπρότητι, ήδη δε και επι τοις τη βουλή 3 δόξασι μεγαλοφρονούμενος. τεσσαράκοντά γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῆ νίκη αὐτοῦ θύειν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ προεψηφισμένα ἐπί τε λευκῶν ἵππων καὶ μετὰ ῥαβδούχων τῶν τε ⁴ τότε αὐτῷ συνόντων καὶ έτέρων ὅσοις ἐν τῆ πρώτη δικτάτορία ἐκέχρητο, ἄλλων τε αὖ ὅσους ἐν 4 δευτέρα ἐσχήκει, πέμψαι οἱ ἔδοσαν. τῶν τε τρόπων τῶν ἐκάστου ἐπιστάτην (οὕτω γάρ πως 5 ώνομάσθη ώσπερ οὐκ ἀξίας αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ τιμητοῦ προσρήσεως ούσης) ές τρία αὐτὸν ἔτη καὶ δικ-5 τάτορα ες δέκα εφεξης είλοντο. και προσέτι

³ ἐπὶ supplied by Bk.
 ⁵ πωs R. Steph., πω L.

¹ δη Bk., τοι L. ² ἐτεθαυμάκει Bk., ἀνατεθαυμάκει L. 4 τε supplied by Rk.

and companions to ask the life of one man. In fact 18.C. 46 he would have spared Cato, too; for he had conceived such an admiration for him that when Cicero subsequently wrote an encomium of Cato he was not at all vexed, although Cicero had likewise warred against him, but merely wrote a short treatise which he entitled "Anticato."

Immediately after these events and before he crossed into Italy Caesar got rid of the older men among his soldiers for fear they might mutiny again. He arranged other matters in Africa just as rapidly as was feasible and sailed as far as Sardinia with his whole fleet. From that point he sent the dismissed troops along with Gaius Didius into Spain against Pompey, and he himself returned to Rome, priding himself particularly upon the brilliance of his achievements, but also upon the decrees of the senate as well. For they had voted that sacrifices should be offered for his victory during forty days, and had granted him permission to ride, in the triumph already voted him, in a chariot drawn by white horses and to be accompanied by all the lictors who were then with him, and by as many others as he had employed in his first dictatorship. together with as many more as he had had in his second. Furthermore, they elected him overseer of every man's conduct1 (for some such name was given him, as if the title of censor were not worthy of him) for three years, and dictator for ten in succession.

¹ Praefectus moribus (Cic., ad Fam. ix. 15, 5).

έπί τε άργικοῦ δίφρου μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων έν τῷ συνέδρίω καθίζειν καὶ γνώμην ἀεὶ πρῶτον ἀποφαίνεσθαι, έν τε ταις ιπποδρομίαις ἀπάσαις άποσημαίνειν, καὶ τὰς ἀργὰς τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τισίν ο δήμος πρότερον ί ένεμεν 2 αποδεικνύναι 6 εψηφίσαντο. ἄρμα τέ τι αὐτοῦ εν τῷ Καπιτωλίω αντιπρόσωπον τω Διὶ ίδρυθηναι, καὶ ἐπὶ είκονα αὐτὸν της οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβιβασθηναι, γραφην έχοντα ὅτι ἡμίθεός ἐστι, τό τε όνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατούλου, ως 3 και τον νεων, εφ' ου τη εκποιήσει εὐθύνειν ἐκεῖνον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐκτελέσαντος, ἀντεγ-7 γραφήναι ἐκέλευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ μόνα κατέλεξα ούχ ὅτι καὶ μόνα ἐψηφίσθη (παμπληθῆ τε γάρ έσεφέρετο και δήλον ότι και έκυροῦτο) άλλ' ότι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρήκατο, ταῦτα δὲ προσεδέξατο.

15 Δεδογμένων δὲ ἤδη αὐτῶν ἢλθέ τε ἐς τὴν ὙΡώμην, καὶ ἰδῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τήν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβουμένους καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ὑποτοπουμένους, κἀκ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, οἶά που καὶ πρὶν ἐγεγόνει, πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερόγκους οὶ τιμὰς κολακεία 2 ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐνοία ἐψηφισμένους, παρεμυθήσατό τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπήλπισεν εἰπῶν ἐν τῷ βουλῷ τοιάδε·

"Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὡ πατέρες, προσδοκήση μήτε ἐρεῖν με χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε πράξειν, ὅτι καὶ νενίκηκα καὶ δύναμαι πᾶν μὲν ὅ τι ἂν ἐθελήσω

¹ πρότερον Βk., πρῶτον L. ² ἔνεμεν R. Steph., ἐνέμεινεν L.

³ ώς Xyl., γραφηναι ώς L.

They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate B.C. 46 upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal at all the games in the Circus, and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it.1 These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted, -for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed,-but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.

When these decrees had now been passed, he entered Rome, and perceiving that the people were afraid of his power and suspicious of his proud bearing and consequently expected to suffer many terrible evils such as had taken place before, and realizing that it was on this account that they had voted him extravagant honours, through flattery and not through good-will, he endeavoured to encourage them and to inspire them with hope by the following speech delivered in the senate:

"Let none of you, Conscript Fathers, suppose that I shall make any harsh proclamation or do any cruel deed merely because I have conquered and am able

¹ See xxxvii. 44, l.

άνεύθυνος εἰπεῖν, πᾶν δ' ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῶ μετ' 3 έξουσίας δράσαι. μη μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι καὶ Μάριος καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς είπεῖν ὅσοι πώποτε τοὺς ἀντιστασιάσαντάς σφισιν ἐκράτησαν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσι τῶν πρα-γμάτων πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ εἶπον καὶ 4 έπραξαν, έξ ων ούχ ήκιστα προσαγαγόμενοί 1 τινας μάλιστα μεν συμμάχοις αὐτοῖς, εἰ δε μή, ούκ ἀνταγωνισταίς γε ἐχρήσαντο, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐγκρατείς ὧν ἐπεθύμουν γενόμενοι πολὺ τάναντία ἐκείνων καὶ λόγω καὶ ἔργω ἔπραξαν, καὶ ἐμέ τις ὑπολάβη τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν. 5 ούτε γαρ άλλως πως πεφυκώς έπειτα τον μέν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον προσποιητῶς ὑμῖν ἐνωμίλησα, νῦν δέ, ὅτι ἔξεστιν, ἀσφαλῶς θρασύνομαι οὕτ' αὖ ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐπραγίας ἐξῆγμαι καὶ τετύφωμαι ὤστε καὶ τυραννῆσαι ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι (ταῦτα γὰρ ἔμοιγε ἀμφότερα ἢ τό γε ἔτερον 6 αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνοι παθεῖν δοκοῦσιν) ἀλλ' εἰμί τε τη φύσει τοιοῦτος ὁποίου μου ἀεὶ πεπείρασθε (τί γὰρ δεῖ με καθ' ἔκαστον ἐπεξιόντα ἐπαχθη, ώς καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἐπαινοῦντα, γενέσθαι;) καὶ τὴν τύχην οὐκ ἂν προπηλακίσαιμι, ἀλλ' ὅσω μᾶλλον άγαθης αὐτης πεπείραμαι, τόσω μᾶλλον πρὸς 7 πάντα μετρίως ² αὐτή χρήσομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τοσοῦτό τ'3 ἰσχῦσαι καὶ τηλικοῦτον αὐξηθηναι ἐσπούδασα ὥστε πάντας μὲν τοὺς άντιπολεμήσαντας κολάσασθαι πάντας δὲ τοὺς άντιστασιάσαντας νουθετήσαι, ή ίνα καὶ άνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἀσφαλώς καὶ εὐτυχεῖν εὐκλεώς δύνω-

προσαγαγόμενοί Βk., προσαγόμενοί L.
 μετρίως Βs., κρείττω L.
 τ' Rk., τι L.

to say whatever I please without being called to BC. 46 account, and to do with full liberty whatever I choose. It is true that Marius and Cinna and Sulla and practically all the others who ever triumphed over the factions opposed to them said and did many benevolent things in the beginning of their undertakings, largely as the result of which they attracted men to their side, thus securing, if not their active support, at least their abstention from opposition; and then, after conquering and becoming masters of the ends they sought, adopted a course diametrically opposed to their former stand both in word and in deed. Let no one, however, assume that I shall act in this same way. For I have not associated with you in former time under a disguise, while possessing in reality some different nature, only to become emboldened in security now that that is possible; nor have I become so elated or puffed up by my great good fortune as to desire also to play the tyrant over you-both of which experiences, or at least one of them, seem to me to have come to those men whom I mentioned. No, I am in nature the same sort of man as you have always found me -but why go into details and become offensive as praising myself?-and I would not think of insulting Fortune, but the more I have enjoyed her favours, the more moderately will I use her in every way. have had no other motive in striving to secure so great power and to rise to such a height that I might punish all active foes and admonish all those of the other faction, than that I might be able to play a man's part without danger and to obtain prosperity

16 μαι. 1 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως καλὸν ἡ δίκαιον, ὅσα τις τοίς διχογνωμονήσασιν ἐπεκάλεσε, ταῦτα αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα έξελεγχθηναι οὔτ' αν έγωγε άξιώσαιμί ποτε, τη των έργων ζηλώσει όμοιωθείς αὐτοῖς, μόνη τῆ τῆς παντελοῦς νίκης φήμη 2 διαλλάξαι. τίς μεν γάρ πλείω και μείζω τινάς εὖ ποιεῖν ὀφείλει τοῦ μάλιστα δυναμένου; τίς δὲ ήττον εξαμαρτάνειν τοῦ πλεῖστον ἰσχύοντος: τίς εὐβουλότερον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου δοθεῖσι χρῆσθαι τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντος; τίς δρθότερον τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι του πλείστά τε έχουτος και μάλιστα περί 3 αὐτῶν μὴ καὶ ἀπόληται φοβουμένου; ἡ μέν γαρ εύπραγία σωφροσύνην λαβοῦσα διαμένει, και ή έξουσία μετριάσασα πάντα τὰ κτηθέντα τηρεί τό τε μέγιστον, καὶ ὅπερ ἡκιστά τοῖς εὖ 2 χωρὶς ἀρετής φερομένοις ὑπάρχει, καὶ ζῶσιν άδόλως φιλείσθαι και τελευτήσασιν άληθώς 4 επαινείσθαι διδόασιν. δ δε άνέδην ες πάντα άπλως τη δυνάμει καταχρώμενος οὔτε εὔνοιαν άληθη οὖτ' ἀσφάλειαν ἀκριβη ευρίσκεται, άλλ' έν μέν τῷ φανερῷ πλαστῶς κολακεύεται . . . 4 τὸν γὰρ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἐξουσίας ἀκράτορα 5 οί τε άλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ μάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ύποπτεύουσι καλ φοβοῦνται.

17 "Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἀλλως ἐφιλοσόφησα, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐκ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' αὐτομάτου

¹ δύνωμαι Η. Steph., δύναμαι L.

² ev Bk., ov L.

³ ἀνέδην Rk., ἀναίδην L.

Lacuna recognized by Reim.
δ ἀκράτορα Βκ., αὐτοκράτορα L.

with honour. For in general it is neither noble nor 1.0.46 just for a man to be convicted of doing the things which he has rebuked in those who have differed from him in opinion; nor will I ever think it proper to be likened to such men through my imitation of their deeds, and to differ merely by the reputation of my complete victory. For who ought to confer more and greater benefits upon people than he who has the greatest power? Who ought to err less than he who is the strongest? Who should use the gifts of Heaven more sensibly than he who has received the greatest ones from that source? Who ought to use present blessings more uprightly than he who has the most of them and is most afraid of losing them? For good fortune, if joined to self-control, is enduring, and authority, if it maintains moderation, preserves all that has been acquired; and, greatest of all, and also rarest with those who gain success without virtue, these things make it possible for their possessors to be loved unfeignedly while living and to receive genuine praise when dead. But the man who recklessly abuses his power on absolutely all occasions finds for himself neither genuine good-will nor certain safety, but, though accorded a false flattery in public, [is secretly plotted against(?)]. For the whole world, including his nearest associates, both suspects and fears a ruler who is not master of his own power.

"These statements that I have made are no mere sophistries, but are intended to convince you that what I think and say is not for effect nor yet

υθυ προσπεσόντα αὐτά, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ πρέπειν μοι καὶ συμφέρειν κρίνας καὶ φρονῶ καὶ λέγω, ὤσθ' ὑμᾶς μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον θαρσείν άλλα και προς το μέλλον εὐέλπιδας είναι, ενθυμουμένους ότι, είπερ τι αύτων επλαττόμην, οὐκ αν άνεβαλόμην άλλ' ήδη και τήμερον 2 έξέφηνα. άλλ' οὔτε πρότερον άλλως πως έφρόνησα, ώσπερ που καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα τεκμηριοί. νθν τε πολύ μαλλον προθυμήσομαι μετά πάσης έπιεικείας ού μὰ Δί ου δεσπόζειν υμών άλλά προστατείν, οὐδὲ τυραννεύειν άλλ' ήγεμονεύειν. πρὸς μὲν τάλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δεῖ πράττειν καὶ ύπατος καὶ δικτάτωρ, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ 3 κακῶς ποιῆσαί τινα ἰδιώτης ὤν. τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον οὐδὲ 1 ρηθηναι καλὸν είναι νομίζω. πῶς μὲν γὰρ αν 2 αποκτείναιμί τινα ύμων των μηδέν με ήδικηκότων ο μηδένα μεν των μη αντιταξαμένων³ μοι φθείρας, εί καὶ τὰ μάλιστα προθύμως τἆλλά τισι κατ' έμοῦ συνήραντο, πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄπαξ⁵ ἀντικαταστάντας μοι ἐλεήσας καὶ πολλούς και των δεύτερον αντιμαχεσαμένων 4 σώσας; πῶς δ' ἂν μνησικακήσαιμί ὅ τισιν ὁ καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίω και παρά τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα ευρέθη, μήτ αναγνούς μήτ' εκγραψάμενος τ άλλ' εὐθύς κατακαύσας; ώστε θαρσούντως, & πατέρες, οἰκειωθῶμεν, εκλαθόμενοι μεν πάντων των συμβεβηκότων

¹ οὐδὲ Rk., οὐ L. ² ἀν added by Bk.

⁸ μη αντιταξαμένων Βκ., αντιπραξαμένων L.

⁴ συνήραντο Rk., προσήραντο L. 5 άπαξ Χyl., άπαν L.

⁶ αν μνησικακήσαιμί R. Steph., αναμνησικακήσαιμί L.

⁷ ἐκγραψάμενος Reim., ἐγγραψάμενος L.

thoughts that have just chanced to occur to me on B.C. 46 the spur of the moment, but rather are convictions regarding what at the outset I decided was both suitable and advantageous for me. Consequently you may not only be of good courage with reference to the present, but also hopeful as regards the future, when vou reflect that, if I had really been using any pretence, I should not now be deferring my projects, but would have made them known this very day. However. I was never otherwise minded in times past, as, indeed, my acts themselves prove, and now I shall be far more eager than ever with all reasonableness to be, not your master,—Jupiter forbid!—but your champion, not your tyrant, but your leader. it comes to accomplishing everything else that must be done on your behalf, I will be both consul and dictator, but when it comes to injuring any one of you, a private citizen. That, in fact, is the one thing which I think should not even be mentioned. For why should I put any one of you to death, who have done me no harm, when I have destroyed none of those who were not arraved against me, no matter how zealously in general they had joined with some of my enemies against me, and when I have taken pity on all those who withstood me but once and in many cases have spared even those who fought against me a second time? Why should I bear malice toward any, seeing that I immediately burned all the documents that were found among the private papers both in Pompey's and in Scipio's tents, and that without reading or copying them? Let us, therefore, Conscript Fathers, confidently unite our interests, forgetting all past events as if they had

5 ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκη τινὶ δαιμονία γεγονότων, ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπτως ἀλλήλους καθάπερ τινὰς καινοὺς πολίτας φιλεῖν, ἵν' ὑμεῖς τε ὡς πρὸς πατέρα με προσφέρησθε, τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τήν τε κηδεμονίαν τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ καρπούμενοι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων μηδὲν φοβούμενοι, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς παίδων ὑμῶν ἐπιμελῶμαι,¹ πάντα μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὐχόμενος, φέρων δὲ ἀναγκαίως τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς ἀγάλλων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπανορθῶν καθ' ὅσον ἐνδέγεται.

" Μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δείσητε, μηδ' άλλο τι αὐτούς ἡ φύλακας της τε έμης ἀρχης καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἄμα νομίσητε εἶναι τρέφεσθαι μεν γάρ σφας ανάγκη πολλών ένεκα, τραφήσονται δὲ οὖκ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοῖς τε διδομένοις ἀρκούμενοι καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτὰ ἀγα-2 πωντες. διά γάρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ πλείον του συνήθους εισπέπρακταί, ίνα τό τε στασιάσαν ἄμα σωφρονισθή καλ τὸ κεκρατηκὸς αὐτάρκη τροφην λαβον μη στασιάση. οὐ γάρ που 2 καὶ ἰδία τι αὐτῶν ἀποκεκέρδαγκα, ὅς γε πάντα μέν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 3 δεδανεισμένος προσανάλωκα ύμιν άλλ' όρατε ότι τὰ μέν τινα αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ³ δεδαπάνηται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν τετήρηται, ἀφ' ὧν ἥ τε πόλις κοσμηθήσεται 4 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικηθήσεται. ώστε τὸ μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἐσπράξεως αὐτὸς

ἀνεδεξάμην, της δ' ωφελίας έ κοινή πάντες άπο-

¹ ἐπιμελῶμαι R. Steph., ἐπιμελοῦμαι L.

² που Pflugk, πω L. ³ πολέμους St., πολεμίους L.

⁴ κοσμηθήσεται Wesseling, κομισθήσεται L.

been brought to pass by some supernatural force, and BC. 46 beginning to love each other without suspicion as if we were in some sort new citizens In this way you will conduct yourselves toward me as toward a father, enjoying the forethought and solicitude which I shall give you and fearing nothing unpleasant, and I will take thought for you as for my children, praying that only the noblest deeds may ever be accomplished by your exertions, and yet enduring perforce the limitations of human nature, exalting the good citizens by fitting honours and correcting the rest so far as that is possible.

"And do not fear the soldiers, either, or regard them in any other light than as guardians of my empire, which is at the same time yours. That they should be supported is necessary, for many reasons, but they will be supported for your benefit, not against you; and they will be content with what is given them and will think well of the givers. This is the reason why the taxes now levied are higher than usual, in order that the seditious element may be made submissive and the victorious element, by receiving sufficient support, may not become seditious. Of course I have received no private gain from these funds, seeing that I have expended for you all that I possessed, and also much that was borrowed. No, you can see that a part of the taxes has been expended on the wars and that the rest has been kept safe for you; it will serve to adorn the city and carry on the government in general. I have, then, taken upon my own shoulders the odium of the levy, whereas you will all enjoy its advantages in common, in the

4 λαύσετε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις· τῶν τε γὰρ ὅπλων ἀεὶ ἡμῖν δεῖ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οἷόν τε ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν πόλιν τε τηλικαύτην οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἀρχὴν τοσαύτην ἔχοντας ἀσφαλῶς ζῆσαι, καὶ ἡ περιουσία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἰσχυρῶς δ ἀφελεῖ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑποπτεύση τις ὑμῶν ὅτι ἡ τῶν πλουσίων τινὰ λυπήσω ἡ ¹ καὶ τέλη τινὰ καινὰ καταστήσω· τοῖς τε γὰρ παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθήσομαι, καὶ προθυμήσομαι συνευπορῆσαί τι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἡ διὰ χρήματά τινα ἀδικῆσαι."

Τοιαῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰπὼν ἐπεκούφισε μέν πως αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἠδυνήθη πεῖσαι παντάπασι θαρσεῖν, πρὶν καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς

έπαγγελίας βεβαιώσασθαι.

19 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρῶς, ὅσπερ εἰκὸς ἐπί τε τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις ἄμα νίκαις ἢν, ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τῶν τε Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τετραχῆ χωρὶς τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις ἔπεμψε.

2 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ηὔφρανέ που τοὺς ὁρῶντας, ἡ δ ᾿Αρσινόη ἡ Αἰγυπτία (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις παρήγαγε) τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ῥαβ-δούχων καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῆ ᾿Αφρικῆ ἀπολωλότων πομπεῖα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς

3 ἐλύπησεν. ὅ τε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ὁ τῶν ἡαβδούχων ἐπαχθέστατόν σφισιν ὅχλον, ἄτε μήπω πρότερον τοσούτους ἄμα ἑορακόσι, παρέσχε· καὶ ἡ ᾿Αρσινόη γυνή τε οὖσα καὶ βασιλίς ποτε² νομισθεῖσα ἔν τε δεσμοῖς,³ ὁ μηπώποτε ἔν γε τῆ Ὑρώμη ἐγε-

 ¹ † supplied by Reim.
 ² ποτε Xyl., τότε L.
 ³ δεσμοῖς Turneb., δήμοις L.

campaigns as well as elsewhere. For we are always BLC. 46 in need of arms, since without them it is impossible for us, who live in so great a city and hold so extensive an empire, to live in safety; and an abundance of money is a great help in this matter as well as elsewhere. However, let none of you suspect that I shall harass any man who is rich or establish any new taxes; I shall be satisfied with the present revenues and shall be more anxious to help make some contribution to your prosperity than to wrong any one for his money."

By such statements in the senate and afterward before the people Caesar reheved them to some extent of their fears, but was not able to persuade them altogether to be of good courage until he confirmed his promises by his deeds.

After this he conducted the whole festival in a brilliant manner, as was fitting in honour of victories so many and so decisive. He celebrated triumphs for the Gauls, for Egypt, for Pharnaces, and for Juba, in four sections, on four separate days. Most of it, of course, delighted the spectators, but the sight of Arsinoe of Egypt, whom he led among the captives, and the host of lictors and the symbols of triumph taken from the citizens who had fallen in Africa displeased them exceedingly. The lictors, on account of their numbers, appeared to them a most offensive multitude, since never before had they beheld so many at one time; and the sight of Arsinoe, a woman and once considered a queen, in chains,—a spectacle which had never yet been seen,

4 γόνει, ὀφθεῖσα πάμπολυν οἶκτον ἐνέβαλε, κἀκ τούτου ἐπὶ τἢ προφάσει ταύτη καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη παρωδύραντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀφείθη, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ἐθανατώθησαν.

Δυσχερώς μεν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ἄπερ εἶπον διετέ-20 θησαν, ελάχιστα δ' οὖν 1 αὖτὰ πρός γε τὸ πληθος τῶν ἐαλωκότων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατειργασμένων ενόμιζον είναι. τούτων τε 2 οὖν ενεκα καὶ ὑπερεθαύμαζον αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ πραότατα ἤνεγκε, τούς τε γαρ ές τὸ συνέδριον σφων ύπ' αὐτοῦ καταλεγ-2 θέντας ἐτώθασαν, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτ' εὐτελίζετο,3 καὶ ἐν 4 τοῖς μάλιστα τόν τε τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν παρὰ τώ Νικομήδει τῶ τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλεύσαντι διατριβήν, ὅτι μειράκιόν ποτε παρ' αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, διεκερτόμησαν, ώστε καὶ είπεῖν ὅτι Καῖσαρ μὲν Γαλάτας έδουλώσατο, Καίσαρα δὲ Νικομήδης. 3 τέλος δὲ ἐφ' ἄπασιν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόοι ἀναβοήσαντες εἶπον ὅτι, ἀν μὲν καλῶς ποιήσης, κολασθήση, ἀν δὲ κακῶς, βασιλεύσεις. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβούλετο δηλοῦν ὅτι, ἂν μὲν ἀποδῷ ⁶ τῷ δήμω τὴν αὐτονομίαν, ὅπερ που δίκαιον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ κριθήσεται έφ' οίς έξω των νόμων είργάσατο καί

¹ δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L.

εὐτελίζετο Jacoby, ἐντίζετο L.
 βασιλεύσεις Xiph., βασιλεύσης L.

τε Bk., γε L
 ἐν supplied by Val.
 ἀποδῷ St., ἀποδώη L.

²⁴⁶

at least in Rome,-aroused very great pity, and with BC. 46 this as an excuse they lamented their private mis-She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers; but others, including Vercingetorix, were put to death.

The people, accordingly, were disagreeably affected by these sights that I have mentioned, and vet they considered them of very slight importance in view of the multitude of captives and the magnitude of Caesar's accomplishments. them to admire him extremely, as did likewise the good nature with which he bore the army's outspoken comments. For the soldiers jeered at those of their own number who had been appointed by him to the senate and at all the other failings of which he was accused, and in particular jested about his love for Cleonatra and his sojourn at the court of Nicomedes, the ruler of Bithynia, inasmuch as he had once been at his court when a lad: indeed, they even declared that the Gauls had been enslaved by Caesar, but Caesar by Nicomedes. Finally, on top of all this, they all shouted out together that if you do right, you will be punished, but if wrong, you will be king 2 This was meant by them to signify that if Caesar should restore self-government to the people, which they of course regarded as just, he would have to stand trial for the deeds he had committed in violation of the

¹ For the obscene jest cf. Suetonius, Iul. 49.

Si male faxis rapulabis, si bene faxis rex eris. Another form of it is found in Horace, Ep. i. 1, 59-60 at puers ludentes " rex eris' aiunt "si recte facies."

² This remark is evidently a perversion of an old nursery jingle (nenia) -

δίκην ὑφέξει,¹ ἂν δὲ τῆ δυναστεία ἐμμείνη, ὅπερ 4 που ἀδικοῦντος ἔργον ἦν, μοναρχήσει.¹ οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἤχθετο ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἔχαιρεν ὅτι τοσαύτη πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησία, πίστει τοῦ μὴ ἂν ὀργισθῆναί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτῆ, ἐχρῶντο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὴν συνουσίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδη διέβαλλον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτω πάνυ τε ἐδυσκόλαινε καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν λυπούμενος, ἀπολογεῖσθαί τε ἐπεχείρει καὶ κατώμνυε, κἀκ τούτου καὶ γέλωτα προσεπωφλίσκανεν.

21 Έν δ' οὖν τῆ πρώτη τῶν νικητηρίων τέρας οὐκ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ ἄξων τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ πομπικοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Τυχαίω τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκούλλου οἰκοδομηθέντι συνετρίβη, ὅστε ἐφ' ἐτέρου αὐτὸν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίω τοῖς γόνασιν ἀνερριχήσατο μηδὲν μήτε τὸ² ἄρμα τὸ πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνιδρυθὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ κειμένην μήτε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν.

3 Ούτω μεν δη τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τόν τε δημον λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε καὶ σῖτον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ ἔλαιον προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ τῷ μὲν σιτοδοτουμένω ὅχλω τάς τε ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε δραχμὰς ᾶς προϋπέσχητο³ καὶ ἑτέρας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς δὲ δη στρατιώταις 4 πεντακισχιλίας ὅλας ἔνειμεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα διη-

δφέξει, μουαρχήσει Xiph., δφέξηι, μουαρχήσηι L.
 τὸ Rk., ἐς τὸ L.
 προυπέσχητο Bk., προυπέσχετο L.

laws and would suffer punishment; whereas, if he BLC. 46 should hold on to his power, which was naturally the course of an unjust person, he would continue to be sole ruler. As for him, however, he was not displeased at their saying this, but was quite delighted that by such frankness toward him they showed their confidence that he would never be angry at it—except in so far as their abuse concerned his intercourse with Nicomedes. At this he was greatly vexed and manifestly pained; he attempted to defend himself, denying the affair upon oath, whereupon he incurred all the more ridicule.

Now on the first day of the triumph a portent far from good fell to his lot: the axle of the triumphal car broke down directly opposite the temple of Fortune built by Lucullus, so that he had to complete the rest of the course in another. On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which had been dedicated to Jupiter in his honour, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it; but later he erased from the inscription the term "demigod."

After the triumph he entertained the populace splendidly, giving them grain beyond the regular amount and olive oil. Also to the multitude which received doles of corn he assigned the three hundred sesterces which he had already promised and a hundred more, but to the soldiers twenty thousand in one sum. Yet he was not uniformly munificent, but in most respects was very strict; for instance, since

κριβούτο, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τὸν σίτον φεροντος έπι μακρότατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην άλλ' ώς που έν ταις στάσεσιν εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἐπαυξηθέντος έξέτασιν εποιήσατο, καὶ τούς γε ημίσεις δμοῦ τι αὐτῶν προαπήλειψε.

Τὰς μεν δη οὖν ἄλλας τῶν νικητηρίων ημέρας ώς που ενενόμιστο διήγαγε τη δε τελευταία έπειδη έκ του δείπνου έγενοντο, ές τε την έαυτου αγοραν εσηλθε βλαύτας υποδεδεμένος 1 και άνθεσι παντοδαποίς έστεφανωμένος, και έκειθεν οικαδε παντὸς μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ δήμου παραπέμποντος αὐτόν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐλεφάντων λαμπάδας φερόντων 2 ἐκομίσθη. τὴν γὰρ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπ'2 αὐτοῦ κεκλημένην κατεσκεύαστο 3 καὶ έστι μεν περικαλλεστέρα της 'Ρωμαίας, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τὸ έκείνης επηύξησεν, ώστε καλ μεγάλην αὐτην όνομάζεσθαι. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τὸν νεὼν τὸν τῆς Αφροδίτης, ώς καὶ ἀρχηγέτιδος τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ 3 ούσης, ποιήσας καθιέρωσεν εὐθὺς τότε πολλούς γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παντοδαπούς ἀγῶνας έθηκε, θέατρόν τι κυνηγετικόν ἰκριώσας, δ καὶ αμφιθέατρον έκ τοῦ πέριξ πανταχόθεν έδρας ἄνευ σκηνης έχειν προσερρή θ η. 4 καὶ έπὶ τούτω 5 καὶ έπὶ τῆ θυγατρὶ καὶ θηρίων σφαγὰς καὶ ἀνδρῶν 4 όπλομαχίας ἐποίησεν, ὧν ἐάν τις τὸν ἀριθμὸν γράψαι έθελήση, όχλον αν τη συγγραφη ουδ' άληθη ίσως παράσχοι· πάντα γάρ τὰ τοιαῦτα έπὶ τὸ μείζον ἀεὶ κομποῦται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ

² ἀπ' R. Steph., ὑπ' L.

¹ δποδεδεμένος R. Steph., δποδεδημένος L, Xiph.

³ κατεσκεύαστο Melber, κατεσκευάσατο Ι.

⁴ προσερρήθη Χιρh., προσερρέθη L.

the multitude receiving doles of corn had increased BC. 46 enormously, not by lawful methods but in such ways as are common in times of strife, he caused the matter to be investigated and struck out half of their names at one time before the distribution.

The first days of the triumph he passed as was customary, but on the last day, after they had finished dinner, he entered his own forum wearing slippers and garlanded with all kinds of flowers; thence he proceeded homeward with practically the entire populace escorting him, while many elephants carried torches. For he had himself constructed the forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beautiful than the Roman Forum; yet it had increased the. reputation of the other so that that was called the Great Forum. So after completing this new forum and the temple to Venus, as the founder of his family, he dedicated them at this very time, and in their honour instituted many contests of all kinds. He built a kind of hunting-theatre of wood, which was called an amphitheatre from the fact that it had seats all around without any stage. In honour of this and of his daughter he exhibited combats of wild beasts and gladiators; but anyone who cared to record their number would find his task a burden without being able, in all probability, to present the truth; for all such matters are regularly exaggerated in a spirit of boastfulness. I shall accordingly pass over this and other like events

έπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν ἔπειτα γενομένων έάσω, πλην εί μή τι πάνυ μοι δόξειεν άναγκαῖον 23 είπειν είναι περί δε δη της καμηλοπαρδάλιδος ώνομασμένης έρω, ότι τότε πρώτον ές τε την 'Ρώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπεδείχθη.¹ τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κάμηλός ἔστι, πλην καθ όσον ούκ έκ τοῦ ἴσου τῶν κώλων ἔχει. 2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσθια αὐτοῦ χθαμαλώτερά ἐστιν άρχόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν ὑψοῦται κατὰ Βραγύ ωστ' αναβαίνοντί ποι ἐοικέναι, καὶ μετεωρισθεν επί πλείστον το μεν άλλο σώμα επί τών έμπροσθίων σκελών έρείδει,² τὸν δ' αὐχένα ές ύψος αὐ ἴδιον ἀνατείνει. τὴν δὲ δὴ χρόαν κατέστικται ώσπερ πάρδαλις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ 3 ονομα επίκοινον άμφοτέρων φέρει. τοῦτο μεν δη τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας συνέβαλλε μὲν καὶ ἕνα ἐνὶ ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾶ, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, συνέβαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰπποδρόμω πλείους, καὶ ίππέας ίππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὺς πεζοῖς, ἄλλους τε άναμίξ άλλήλοις ίσους. καί τινες καὶ ἀπ' έλε-4 φάντων τεσσαράκοντα έμαχέσαντο. καὶ τέλος ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐν τῆ θαλάσση οὐδὲ ἐν λίμνη τινὶ άλλ' ἐν τῆ ἠπείρφ ἐποίησε· χωρίον γάρ τι ἐν τῷ 'Αρείφ πεδίφ κοιλάνας ³ ὕδωρ τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσῆκε καὶ ναῦς ἐσήγαγεν. ἐμάχοντο δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς άγῶσιν οί τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ οἱ θάνατον ώφλη-5 κότες· καί τινές και των ίππέων, ούχ ὅτι τών άλλων άλλα και έστρατηγηκότος τινός άνδρὸς υίος, εμονομάνησαν, καὶ βουλευτής δέ τις

¹ ἐπεδείχθη Βk., ὑπεδείχθη L.

 ² ἐρείδει supplied by Bk.
 ³ κοιλάνας Xiph., κοιλήνας L.

that took place later, except, of course, where it may Ba 46 seem to me quite essential to mention some particular point, but I will give an account of the so-called camelopard, because it was then introduced into Rome by Caesar for the first time and exhibited to This animal is like a camel in all respects except that its legs are not all of the same length, the hind legs being the shorter. Beginning from the rump it grows gradually higher, which gives it the appearance of mounting some elevation; and towering high aloft, it supports the rest of its body on its front legs and lifts its neck in turn to an unusual height. Its skin is spotted like a leopard, and for this reason it bears the joint name of both animals. Such is the appearance of this beast. As for the men, he not only pitted them one against another singly in the Forum, as was customary, but he also made them fight together in companies in the Circus, horsemen against horsemen, men on foot against others on foot, and sometimes both kinds together in equal numbers. There was even a fight between men seated on elephants, forty in number. Finally he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor on a lake, but on land; for he hollowed out a certain tract on the Campus Martius and after flooding it introduced ships into it. In all the contests the captives and those condemned to death took part; yet some even of the knights, and, not to mention others, the son of one who had been practor fought in single combat. Indeed a senator named

Φόλουιος Σεπίνος ¹ ήθ έλησε μεν όπλομαχησαι, ἐκωλύθη δε· ἐκεῖνο μεν γὰρ ἀπηύξατο ὁ Καῖσαρ μήποτε συμβηναι, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας περιείδε μαχο-6 μένους. τήν τε ἱππασίαν τὴν Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποιήσαντο· καὶ ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι αὐτοῖς ἡμιλλήσαντο.

"Εσχε μεν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ πλήθει τῶν Φονευο-24 μένων αἰτίαν, ὅτι μήτ' αὐτὸς διακορής σφαγών2 έγεγόνει καλ τώ δήμω τὰς τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν εἰκόνας ἐπεδείκνυε, πολύ δὲ δὴ μείζω ὅτι ἀμύθητα χρήματα ες πάντα εκείνα ανάλωσεν, ώς και καθ' έκάτερον επιβοασθαι.3 καὶ ὅτι ἀδίκως αὐτῶν τὰ πλείω συνελέξατο, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς 2 κατεχρήσατο. Εν γάρ τι της πολυτελείας της τότε γενομένης εχόμενον είπων και τάλλα δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα σημανώ. ἵνα γὰρ μηδένα τών θεωμένων ὁ ήλιος λυπήση, παραπετάσματα ύπὲρ αὐτῶν σηρικά, ώς γέ τινές φασιν, ὑπερεπέτασεν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὕφασμα χλιδῆς βαρβάρου ἔργον ἐστί, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐς τρυφὴν τῶν 3 πάνυ γυναικών περιττήν έσπεφοίτηκεν. έπ' οὖν τούτοις οί μεν άλλοι και ανάγκη την ήσυχίαν ήγον, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐθορύβησαν, οὐχ ὅτι έμελέ σφισι των είκη δαπανωμένων, άλλ' ότι οὐ

Both names are probably corrupt; Dio regularly has Φούλουιος for Fulvius. ² σφαγῶν Oddey, σφῶν L. ³ ἐπιβοᾶσθαι Xiph., ἐπεκβοᾶσθαι L.

Fulvius Sepinus ¹ desired to contend in full armour, BC. 46 but was prevented; for Caesar deprecated that spectacle at any time, though he did permit the knights to contend. The patrician boys went through the equestrian exercise called "Troy" ² according to ancient custom, and the young men of the same rank contended in chariots.

He was blamed, indeed, for the great number of those slain, on the ground that he himself had not become sated with bloodshed and was further exhibiting to the populace symbols of their own miseries; but much more fault was found because he had expended countless sums on all that array. In consequence a clamour was raised against him for two reasons—first, that he had collected most of the funds unjustly, and, again, that he had squandered them for such purposes. If I mention one feature of his extravagance at that time, I shall thereby give an idea of all the rest. In order that the sun might not annoy any of the spectators, he had curtains stretched over them made of silk, according to some accounts. Now this fabric is a device of barbarian luxury, and has come down from them even to us to gratify the fastidious taste of fine ladies. The citizens perforce held their peace at such acts, but the soldiers raised a disturbance, not because they cared about the reckless squandering of the money, but because they

¹ This is possibly a corruption for the Furius Leptinus mentioned by Suetonius, *Iul.* 39.

² This ludus Troiae, or simply Troia, is first mentioned in the time of Sulla, and then on the present occasion; later we hear of it often (cf. xlix. 43, 3, li. 22, 4, lin. 1, 4, liv. 26, 1, etc.). Virgil's account (Aen v. 553-603) of the boys' contest at the funeral games in honour of Anchises may be regarded as a correct description in the main of what he saw at the contest in honour of Actium.

καλ αὐτολ καλ τὰ ἐκείνων ἔλαβον. καλ οὐ πρότερόν γε έπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι πρίν τὸν Καίσαρα άφνω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαντά τινα 4 αὐτοχειρία πρὸς τιμωρίαν παραδοῦναι. οὖτος μεν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα εδικαιώθη, ἄλλοι δε δύο ἄνδρες έν τρόπφ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Σίβυλλα έγρησεν, οὖτ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο λόγιον ἐγένετο), ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ 'Αρείφ πεδίφ πρός τε τῶν ποντιφίκων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ "Αρεως ἐτύθησαν, καὶ αί γε 1 κεφαλαί αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον ἀνετέθησαν. Ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐνομοθετεῖτο πολλά, ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, τῶν δὲ δη λόγου μάλιστα άξίων μνησθήσομαι. τά τε γάρ δικαστήρια τοις τε βουλευταίς και τοις ἱππεῦσι μόνοις ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως τὸ καθαρώτατον 2 ότι μάλιστα ἀεὶ δικάζοι πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δμίλου τινὲς συνδιεγίγνωσκον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ άναλώματα των τι έχόντων έπὶ πλείστον ὑπ' άσωτίας έξηγμένα οὐκ έν νόμω μόνον έμετρίασεν, άλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐν φυλακῆ ἐποιήσατο. ἐπειδή τε δεινη ὀλιγανθρωπία διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πλήθος, ώς έκ τε των ἀπογραφων (καὶ γὰρ έκείνας τά τε άλλα ώσπερ τις τιμητής έποίησε) καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἦλέγχετο, ἦν,² πολυ-3 παιδίας ἄθλα ἐπέθηκεν. ὅτι τε αὐτὸς πολλοῖς των Γαλατών έφεξης έτεσιν ἄρξας ές τε την ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δυναστείας μᾶλλον προήχθη καὶ ές την παρασκευην της ίσχύος έπηυξήθη, κατέκλεισε νόμω τους μέν έστρατηγη-

¹ al γε v. Herw., γε al L. 2 hν Xyl., hν L.

themselves did not receive the citizens' wealth too. BC. 40 In fact they did not cease their rioting until Caesar suddenly came upon them, and seizing one man with his own hands, delivered him up to punishment. So this man was executed for the reason given, and two others were slain as a sort of ritual observance. The true cause I am unable to state, inasmuch as the Sibyl made no utterance and there was no other similar oracle, but at any rate they were sacrificed in the Campus Martius by the pontifices and the priest of Mars, and their heads were set up near the Regia.

While Caesar was thus engaged he was also enacting many laws, most of which I shall omit, mentioning only those most worthy of record. courts he entrusted to the senators and the knights alone, in order that the purest element of the population, so far as was possible, might always preside; for formerly some of the common people 1 had also joined with them in rendering decisions. The expenditures, moreover, of men of means, which had grown to an enormous extent by reason of their produgality, he not only regulated by law but also practically checked by stern measures. Moreover, since, on account of the multitude of those who had perished there was a serious falling off in population, as was shown both by the censuses (which he attended to, among other things, as if he were censor) and, indeed, by mere observation, he offered prizes for large families of children. Again, since it was by ruling the Gauls for many years in succession that he himself had conceived a greater desire for dominion and had increased the equipment of his force, he limited by law the term of propraetors to one year, and that of

¹ The tribuni aerarii.

proconsuls to two consecutive years, and enacted BC 46 that no one whatever should be allowed to hold any command for a longer time.

After the passage of these laws he also established in their present fashion the days of the year, which had got somewhat out of order, since they still at that time measured their months by the moon's revolutions; he did this by adding sixty-seven days, the number necessary to bring the year out even. Some, indeed, have declared that even more were intercalated, but the truth is as I have stated it. He got this improvement from his stay in Alexandria, save in so far as the people there reckon their months as of thirty days each, and afterwards add the five days to the year as a whole, whereas Caesar distributed among seven months these five along with two other days that he took away from one month.1 The one day, however, which results from the fourths he introduced into every fourth year, so as to make the annual seasons no longer differ at all except in the slightest degree; at any rate in fourteen hundred and sixty-one years there is need of only one additional intercalary day.2

All these and the other undertakings which he was planning for the common weal he accomplished not on his own authority nor by his own counsel, but communicated everything in every instance to the leaders of the senate, and sometimes even to that

¹ I.e. February

² As a matter of fact, the average length of the Julian year is too great by about eleven minutes, amounting to one day in 128 years. Thus the Julian calendar, still employed in Russia and Greece, is now (since 1900) thirteen days behind the Gregorian, the Council of Nice (325 A.D.) being the point of departure.

έπεκοίνου.1 καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα, καίτοι τραχυτερόν τινα νομοθετήσας, δμως ήρεσε σφισι. 2 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις καὶ ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανεν, ὅτι δὲ δη των φευγόντων έκ δικαστηρίου πολλούς διά δημάρχων δή τινων κατήγαγε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς δεκασμού 2 έπ' ἀρχής ἀποδείξει άλοῦσιν ἐν τῆ 'Ιταλία διαιτασθαί ἐπέτρεψεν, ἔτι τε ἐς τὴν Βουλην αθθις οὐκ ἀξίους τινὰς αὐτης ἐγκατέλεξε. 3 πολλά και παντοδαπά έθρυλειτο. πλείστην δ' οὖν ὅμως αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι. οὐ τῶ ἐν τῆ Αἰγύπτω ἔτι (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἠκούετο) άλλὰ τῷ ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ Ῥώμη, παρὰ πάντων ἔσχεν. ἢλθέ τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐσωκίσθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον 3 έπ' αμφοτέροις σφίσι κακώς ακούσαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ έμελέν οι οὐδέν, άλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους σφᾶς τούς τε συμμάχους τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέγραψε.

Κάν τούτφ ¹ ἐμάνθανε μὲν πάντα καθ' ἔκαστον ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῆ Ἰβηρία ἐποίει, οὐ ⁵ μέντοι καὶ δυσνίκητον ⁶ αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζων πρότερον μὲν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ⁷ ἐκ καταλόγου ἔπεμψεν ὡς καὶ δι' ἔτέρων διαπολεμή-2 σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθετο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ μέγα προχωροῦντα καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἀντιπολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ὄντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεστράτευσεν, τὴν πόλιν τῷ τε Λεπίδω καὶ

¹ ἐπεκοίνου R. Steph , ἐπεκείνου L.

² δεκασμοῦ Palm., δεκασμοῖς L.
³ ἐκεῖνον cod Peir., ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον L.

^{*} κὰν τούτφ Βk., κάκ τούτου L.

ο ο Βκ , και L. δουσνίκητον Xyl., δυσκίνητον L. 7 τὰ supplied by Rk.

entire body. And to this practice most of all was due BC 46 the fact that, even after he passed some rather harsh measures, he still succeeded in pleasing them. For these acts, then, he received praise; but when he induced some of the tribunes to restore many of those who had been exiled after due trial, and allowed those who had been convicted of bribery in canvassing for office to live in Italy, and furthermore enrolled once more in the senate some who were unworthy of it, many murmurings of all sorts arose against him. But he incurred the greatest censure from all because of his passion for Cleopatranot now the passion he had displayed in Egypt (for that was a matter of hearsay), but that which was displayed in Rome itself. For she had come to the city with her husband and settled in Caesar's own house, so that he too derived an ill repute on account of both of them. He was not at all concerned, however, about this, but actually enrolled them among the friends and allies of the Roman people.

Meanwhile he was learning in detail all that Pompey was doing in Spain; but thinking him easy to vanquish, he at first despatched the fleet from Sardinia against him, and later sent on also the armies that had been enrolled, intending to conduct the whole war through others. But when he ascertained that Pompey was gaining great headway and that the men he had sent were not sufficient to fight against him, he finally set out himself to join the expedition, after entrusting the city to Lepidus and a

πολιανόμοις 1 τισὶν ὀκτώ, ὡς τισι δοκεῖ, $\mathring{\eta}$ 2 ἕξ, ὡς

μαλλον πεπίστευται, ἐπιτρέψας.

Έπειδη γαρ επί τε τοῦ Λογγίνου καὶ επὶ τοῦ 29 Μαρκέλλου τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ἐν τῆ Ἰβηρία έκινήθη καί τινες καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐνεωτέρισαν, ημέρας μέν τινας τοῦ τε Λογγίνου ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου τὴν διαδοχὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόν-2 τος, ησύχασαν, έπειτα δέει της έκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίας επρεσβεύσαντο κρύφα πρός τον Σκιπίωνα, μεταστήναι βουλόμενοι καί δς άλλους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Γναῖον ἀπέστειλε. προσέχων δὲ ἐκείνος ταίς Γυμνησίαις 3 νήσοις τὰς μεν άλλας αμαχεί, την δε "Εβεσον σύν πόνω παρεστήσατο, κάνταθθα νοσήσας μετά 3 στρατιωτών διέτριψε. χρονίζοντος οὖν αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐν τῆ Ἰβηρία τόν τε Σκιπίωνα ἀπολωλότα καὶ τὸν Δίδιον ἐπιπλέοντά σφισι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ διαφθαρῶσι πρὶν τὸν Πομπήιον έλθειν, οὐκ ἔμειναν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Τίτον τε Κυίντιον 4 Σκαπούλαν και Κύιντον 'Απώνιον ἄνδρας ἱππέας προστησάμενοι τόν τε Τρεβώνιον έξέβαλον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Βαιτικὸν πᾶν συναπέστησαν.

10 Πραξάντων δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῶν Πομπήιος ραίσας ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρας διέπλευσε, καὶ ἄλλας μέν τινας πόλεις εὐθὺς ἑκουσίας προσεποιήσατο (ταῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιτάξεσι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίσιν ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἐπελπίζοντες

¹ πολιανόμοις R. Steph., παλιανόμοις L. 2 ή Χyl., μη L.

³ Γυμνησίαις Reim., γυμνασίας L.

⁴ Κυίντιον Reim., κύιντον L.

number of prefects—eight as some think, or six as is more commonly believed.

The legions in Spain under Longinus and Marcellus had rebelled and some of the cities had revolted. When Longinus had been removed and Trebonius had become his successor, they kept quiet for a few days; then, through fear of vengeance on Caesar's part, they secretly sent ambassadors to Scipio, expressing a desire to transfer their allegiance, and he sent to them Gnaeus Pompey among others. Pompey put in at the Balearic Isles and took these islands without a battle, except Ebusus, which he gained with difficulty; then, falling sick, he tarried there with his troops. As a result of his delay, the soldiers in Spain, who had learned that Scipio was dead and that Didius was setting sail against them, feared that they would be annihilated before Pompey could arrive, and so failed to wait for him; but putting at their head Titus Quintius Scapula and Quintus Aponius, both knights, they drove out Trebonius and led the whole Baetic nation to revolt at the same time.

They had gone thus far when Pompey, recovering from his illness, sailed across to the mainland opposite. He immediately won over several cities without resistance, for, being vexed at the commands of their rulers and also reposing no httle hope in him because of the memory of his father, they readily received

έτοίμως αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο), Καρχηδόνα δὲ οὐκ 2 εθελήσασαν δμολογήσαι επολιόρκει. μαθόντες ούν τούτο οί περί του Σκαπούλαν 1 ηλθόν τε ένταθθα, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν έλόμενοι προσείγον τε αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ προεθυμοθντο Ισχυρότατα, τὰ κέρδη τὰ ἐκείνου ἴδια καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς οἰκείας ποιούμενοι, ὥστ' ἀφ' έκατέρου, τὰ μὲν ὅπως λάβωσι, τὰς ² δ' ὅπως μὴ 3 πάθωσιν, ἐρρῶσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος, οἷα ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαίς 8 και καταστάσεσι πάντες εἰώθασι ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδή τινες τῶν 'Αλλοβρόγων, οὕς οἱ ὁ ⁴ 'Ιόβας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κουρίωνα πολέμου ζωγρήσας έδεδώκει, ηὐτομόλησαν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ λόγω καὶ ἔργω τοῖς 4 λοιποίς έχαρίζετο. οὖτοί τε οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ταθτα πολύ προθυμότεροι εγένοντο, και των εναντίων συχνοί, και μάλισθ' όσοι σύν τῷ 'Αφρανίφ ποτὲ ἐστράτευντο, 5 προσεχώρησαν· τῶν τε έκ της 'Αφρικης άλλοι τε και ὁ άδελφὸς Σέξτος ό τε Οὐᾶρος καὶ ὁ Λαβιῆνος σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ 5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον. κἀκ τούτου τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῆ προθυμία ἀρθεὶς τήν τε χώραν άδεως διεπορεύετο, και πόλεις τας μέν έκούσας τὰς δὲ ἀκούσας προσετίθετο, καὶ ἐδόκει 31 καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν πατέρα ἰσχύειν. ἢσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τη 'Ιβηρία και του Καίσαρος στρατηγοί Κύιντός τε Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κύιντος Πέδιος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόμαχοί οἱ νομίζοντες εἶναι αὐτοί τε ἡσύχαζον καὶ ἐκεῖνον σπουδή μετεπέμποντο.

Σκαπούλαν R. Steph., σκιπίωνα L.
 τὰs Bk., τὰ L.
 ταραχαῖs Rk., ἀρχαῖs I.

⁴ oi o Bs., of Rk., o L. 5 ἐστράτευντο Bk., ἐστρατεύοντο L.

him; and Carthage, which was unwilling to come to BC. 46 terms, he besieged. The followers of Scapula, on learning of this, went there and chose him general with full powers, after which they were most devoted to him and showed the greatest zeal, regarding his successes as the successes of each one of them and his disasters as their own. Consequently their resolution was confirmed by their double purpose of obtaining the successes and avoiding the disasters. Pompey, too, did what all are accustomed to do in the midst of such turbulent conditions, especially after the desertion of some of the Allobroges whom Juba had taken alive in the war against Curio and had given to him: that is, he granted to the rest every possible favour both in word and in deed. Not only these men, therefore, became more zealous in his behalf, but a number of the opposing side, also, particularly all who had once served under Afranius, came over to him. Then there were those who came to him from Africa, among others his brother Sextus, and Varus, and Labienus with his fleet. Elated, therefore, by the multitude of his army and by its zeal, he proceeded fearlessly through the country, gaining some cities of their own accord, and others against their will, and seemed to surpass even his father in power. For though Caesar also had generals in Spain, namely Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Pedius, vet they did not regard themselves as a match for Pompey, but remained quiet themselves and kept sending urgently for Caesar.

¹ New Carthage.

Τέως μεν δη ταῦτ' εγίγνετο επεί δε των τε προπεμφθέντων τινες εκ της 'Ρώμης άφίκοντο κα προσεδοκήθη καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ήξειν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ νομίσας οὐχ ἱκανὸς¹ εἶναι πᾶσαν την Ίβηρίαν κατασχείν, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε πταίσας γε² μεταγνώναι, άλλ' εὐθύς, πρὶν πειραθήναι τών 3 έναντίων, ές την Βαιτικήν άνεχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῶ ή μεν θάλασσα παραυτίκα ήλλοτριώθη, Οὐᾶρός τε 3 ύπο του Διδίου περί Καρτηίαν 4 έναυκρατήθη, καὶ είγε μὴ προκαταφυγών ές τὴν γῆν ἀγκύρας ές τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλαις 5 ἐνεβεβλήκει ε καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν διωκόντων σφας ώσπερ περί έρμα ἐπταίκεσαν, παν αν τὸ 4 ναυτικον απωλωλέκει. ή δε δή ήπειρος ή έκεῖ πάσα πλην Οὐλίας πόλεως συνεμάχει ταύτην γαρ μη εθελήσασάν οι προσχωρήσαι επολιόρκει.

32 Κάν τούτφ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐξαίφνης ἀδοκήτοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπῆλθε· τοσούτφ γὰρ τῷ τῆς πορείας τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὅστε καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἄμα καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὀφθῆναι πρὶν καὶ ὅτι ὅλως ἐν τῆ Ἱβηρία γέγονεν ἀκουσθῆναι. 2 καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς τε παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καταπλήξειν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλάξειν ἤλπισε· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον στράτευμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν

iκανὸs R. Steph., iκανὸν L.
 γε H. Steph., τε L.
 τε Βk., δὲ L.

⁴ Καρτηίαν Βk., κραυτίαν L. (κάρτια in ch. 40).

⁵ ἄλλαις H. Steph., ἄλλας L.

ἐνεβεβλήκει Βk., προσενεβεβλήκει L.
 προσχωρῆσαι R. Steph., προχωρῆσαι L.

For a time matters went on thus: but when a few BC. 40 of the men sent in advance from Rome had reached there, and Caesar's arrival was also expected, Pompey became frightened; and thinking that he was not strong enough to gain the mastery of all Spain, he did not wait for a reverse before changing his mind, but immediately, before making trial of his adversaries, retired into Baetica. The sea, moreover, straightway became hostile to him, and Varus was defeated in a naval battle near Carteia by Didius; indeed, had he not escaped to the land and sunk a row of anchors side by side at the mouth of the harbour, upon which the foremost pursuers were wrecked as upon a reef, he would have lost his whole fleet. All that region of the mainland except the city of Ulia was in alliance with Pompey; and this town, which had refused to submit to him, he proceeded to besiege.

Meanwhile Caesar, too, with a few men suddenly came up unexpectedly, not only to Pompey's followers, but even to his own soldiers. For he had employed such speed in crossing over that he appeared to both his adherents and his opponents before they had even heard that he was in Spain at all. He hoped by this very circumstance and by his mere presence to alarm Pompey and in particular to lure him from the siege; for most of his army had been left behind on the road. But Pompey, thinking that one

ύπελέλειπτο έκεινος δὲ ἔνα τε ἄνδρα ένὸς οὐ 1 πολύ διαφέρειν νομίζων, καὶ τῆ ἰσχύι ἑαυτοῦ πάνυ θαρσῶν, οὐκ έξεπλάγη πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσήδρευε τῆ πόλει καὶ τὰς 3 προσβολάς όμοίως ώσπερ και πριν έποιείτο. δ οθν Καίσαρ έκει μεν ολίγους στρατιώτας έκ των προαφιγμένων κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κόρδουβαν ώρμησε, το μέν τι και αιρήσειν αυτην έκ προδοσίας έλπίσας, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἀπάξειν ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐλίας τὸν Πομπήιον τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς φόβφ 4 προσδοκήσας. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἐάσας ές τε την Κόρδουβαν ήλθε, καὶ κρατυνάμενος αὐτήν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντός σφας τοῦ Καίσαρος. τῶ 5 ἀδελφῷ τῷ Σέξτφ προσέταξεν ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς οὔτε τι πρὸς τἢ Οὐλία ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πύργου τινός, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ὑπὸ σφῶν κατασεισθέντος άλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμυνομένων καταρραγέντος, ἐσῆλθον μέν τινες, οὐ μὴν καὶ 6 καλώς ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ ὁ Καΐσαρ πλησιάσας σφίσιν έκείνοις τε βοήθειαν νυκτός λαθών ἐσέπεμψε καὶ αὐτὸς πρός τε τὴν Κόρδουβαν αὖθις έστράτευσε και ές πολιορκίαν αὐτὴν ἀντικατέστησεν, ούτω δὴ τῆς τε Οὐλίας παντελῶς άπανέστη καὶ ἐκεῖσε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐ μάτην ήπείχθη. προπυθόμενος γὰρ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ 7 ἀπεχώρησε νοσῶν γὰρ ἐτύγχανε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτός τε ἀναρρωσθεὶς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπακολουθήσαντά οι προσλαβών ήναγκάσθη και έν τῷ χειμώνι πολεμήσαι έν τε γὰρ σκηνιδίοις φαύλοις αὐλιζόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἐνελεί-1 où supplied by Leuncl.

man was not much superior to another and feeling BC 46 full confidence in his own strength, was not seriously alarmed at the other's arrival, but continued to besiege the city and kept making assaults upon it just as before. Hence Caesar left there a few troops from among those who had arrived first and set out himself for Corduba, partly, to be sure, in the hope of taking it by betrayal, but chiefly in the expectation of drawing Pompey away from Ulia through fear for this place. And so it turned out in the end. At first Pompey left a part of his army in position, and going to Corduba, strengthened it, and then, as Caesar did not resist his troops, put his brother Sextus in charge there. After this he failed to accomplish anything at Ulia. On the contrary, when a certain tower had fallen, and that not shaken down by his own men either, but broken down by the crowd that was making a defence from it, a few who rushed in fared badly; and Caesar, approaching, lent assistance secretly by night to the citizens, and marched against Corduba again himself, putting it under siege in turn. Then at last Pompey withdrew entirely from Ulia and hastened to the other town with his entire army, accomplishing the desired result. For Caesar, learning of it in time, retired, as he happened to be ill. Afterwards, when he had recovered and had taken charge of the additional troops who had followed on after him, he was compelled to carry on warfare even in the winter; for, being housed in miserable little huts, they were suffering distress and running

33 ποντο. 1 έδικτατόρευε δὲ δὴ τότε, καὶ 2 ὕπατος ὀψέ ποτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδω τοῦ ἔτους ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ Λεπίδου ἐν τἢ ἱππαρχία τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο συναγαγόντος ίππάρχησε γαρ και τότε, αὐτὸς έαυτὸν έν τη ύπατεία έπειπων ίππαρχον παρά τὰ πάτρια. 'Αναγκασθείς οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ έν τω χειμωνι πολεμήσαι, τή μεν Κορδούβη οὐ προσέβαλεν (ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο), πυθόμενος δὲ ἐν ᾿Αττεγούα πόλει σῖτον πολύν είναι πρός ἐκείνην καίτοι καρτεράν οὖσαν ἐτράπετο, έλπίσας τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆ παρ' έαυτοῦ αἰφνιδίω ἐκπλήξει καταφοβήσας σφάς αίρήσειν και αὐτὴν διὰ βραχέος και ἀπε-3 σταύρωσε καὶ περιετάφρευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος τη φύσει τοῦ χωρίου θαρσῶν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὖκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσεδρεύσειν αὐτῷ νομίζων, τούς τε ξαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μή βουληθείς έν τῷ ρίγει κακῶσαι, περιείδε³ καὶ οὐκ 4 ἐπήμυνεν αὐτοῖς τήν γε πρώτην ὕστερον γάρ, ώς τό τε πόλισμα ἀπετετείχιστο καὶ ὁ Καΐσαρ αὐτῷ προσεκάθητο, δείσας ἐπεβοήθησέ σφισι, καὶ νυκτὸς εξαίφνης δμιχλώδους τοῖς προφύλαξι προσμίξας συχνούς εφθειρεν. επειδή τε άστρατήγητοι οἱ ἔνδον ἣσαν, Μουνάτιον αὐτοῖς Φλάκκον 34 εσέπεμψεν. ήδυνήθη γάρ εκείνος ώδε είσω παρελθείν. νύκτωρ των φυλάκων τινας μόνος, ώς και ύπο του Καίσαρος ες εφοδείαν απεσταλμένος. άνήρετο τὸ σύνθημα, καὶ μαθών (οὔτε γὰρ ἐγιγνώσκετο, καὶ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑπωπτεύθη

ἐνελείποντο Η. Steph., ἐνελίποντο L
 καὶ R. Steph., γὰρ L.
 περιείδε Rk., προείδε L.

short of food. Caesar was at that time dictator, BC. 46 and at length, near the close of the year, he was appointed consul, after Lepidus, who was master of the horse, had convoked the people for this purpose; for Lepidus had become master of the horse at that time also, having given himself, while still in the consulship, that additional title contrary to precedent.

Caesar, accordingly, being compelled, as I have said, B.C. 45 to carry on warfare even in the winter, did not attack Corduba, which was strongly guarded, but turned his attention to Ategua, a city in which he had learned there was an abundance of grain. Although it was a strong place, he hoped by the size of his army and the sudden terror of his appearance to alarm the inhabitants and capture it. And in a short time he had cut it off by a palisade and surrounded it by a ditch. For Pompey, encouraged by the nature of the place and thinking that Caesar because of the winter would not besiege it very long, paid no heed and did not try at first to repel the assailants, since he was unwilling to distress his own soldiers by the cold. Later, to be sure, when the town had been walled off and Caesar was encamped before it, he grew afraid and came with assistance. Falling in with the pickets suddenly on a misty night, he killed a number of them; and since the inhabitants were without a general, he sent in to them Munatius Flaccus. this man contrived in the following way to get inside. He went alone by night to some of the guards, as if appointed by Caesar to visit the sentries, and asked and learned the watchword; for he was not known, and inasmuch as he was alone, would never have been suspected of being anything but a friend when he

μη φίλιός σφισιν ών τουτο ποιήσαι) εκείνους μεν 2 είασεν, εκπεριελθών δε ετέρωσε τοῦ περιτειχίσματος άλλοις τισὶ φύλαξιν ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τό τε σύνθημα αὐτοῖς εἶπών, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς πόλεως παρείναι πλασάμενος, δι' έκόντων τε αὐτῶν 3 καὶ παραπεμπόντων γε ἐσῆλθεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περιεποιήσατο αὐτήν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά, καί ποτε πυρ ές τε τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ ές σταυρώματα τὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐμβαλόντες 2 έκείνους μέν οὐδεν ὅ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἔβλαψαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέμου σφίσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐν τούτω 4 σφοδροῦ προσπεσόντος κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν· τά τε γάρ οἰκοδομήματα ἐπεφλέχθη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι συχνοί τοίς τε λίθοις καὶ τοίς βέλεσι, μηδέ 8 προιδέσθαι τι ύπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ δυνηθέντες, έξώλοντο. ώς οὖν τοῦτό τε αὐτοῖς συνεβεβήκει καὶ ή γη ἐπορθεῖτο τοῦ τε τείχους τινὰ 4 ἐξ ὑπονόμων 5 έπιπτεν, έστασίασαν, καὶ πρότερος μὲν ὁ Φλάκκος έπ' άδεία 5 έαυτοῦ 6 τε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οί πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα διεκηρυκεύσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ οὖτος μέν (οὐ γὰρ ἦθέλησε τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι) διήμαρτεν αὐτής, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ έπρεσβεύσαντο καὶ συνέβησαν έφ' οις έκελεύοντο. 35

Έκείνης δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως άλούσης οὐκέτ' οὐδὲ τοἱ ἄλλοι ἠτρέμιζον, άλλὰ δε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα πρεσβευσάμενοι μεθίσταντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιόντα αὐτὸν τούς τε

¹ παρείναι Reim., είναι L.

² εμβαλόντες R. Steph., εμβάλλοντες L.

μηδὲ Βk., μήτε L.
 τινὰ Dind., τινὸς L.
 ἀδεία R. Steph., ἀδείαs L.

⁶ ξαυτοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L.

⁷ οὐδὲ St., οὐδὲν L. ⁸ ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὸι L.

acted in this manner. Then he left these men and BC. 45 went around to the other side of the circumvallation where he met some other guards and gave them the watchword; after this he pretended that he was there to betray the city, and so went inside through the midst of the soldiers with their consent and actually under their escort. He could not, however, save the place. In addition to other setbacks there was one occasion when the citizens hurled fire upon the engines and ramparts of the Romans, although without doing them any damage worth mentioning, while they themselves fared ill by reason of a violent wind which just then began to blow toward them from the opposite direction; for their houses were set on fire and many persons perished from the stones and missiles, not being able to see any distance ahead of them for the smoke. After this disaster, as their land was being ravaged, and portions of their wall were collapsing as the result of mines, they began to riot. Flaccus first made overtures to Caesar on the basis of pardon for himself and his followers; but afterwards, when he failed of this owing to his refusal to surrender his arms, the natives sent envoys and submitted to the terms imposed upon them.

Upon the capture of this city the other tribes also no longer held back, but many of their own accord sent envoys and espoused Caesar's cause, and many received him or his lieutenants on their approach.

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2 ὑποστρατήγους αὐτοῦ ἐδέχοντο, ὥστε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπορήσαντα ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς χώρας μεθιστάμενον πλανᾶσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντα μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλίπωσι, διακινδυνεύσαι έθελησαι, καίτοι τού δαιμονίου την ήτταν εναργέστατα αὐτῷ προσημή-3 ναντος. οι μεν γαρ ίδρωτες των άγαλμάτων καὶ αἱ ἡχαὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, τά τε ζῶα ἃ 1 πολλά παρά την ξαυτών φύσιν έγεννήθη, καὶ αί δάδες αί πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολῶν άττουσαι (ταθτα γαρ ἐν τῆ Ἰβηρία τότε ἄμα πάντα συνηνέχθη) σαφές οὐδέν, όποτέροις σφῶν 4 προφαίνοιτο, διεδήλου οι δε δη άετοι των στρατοπέδων αὐτοῦ τάς τε πτέρυγας σείσαντες καί τούς κεραυνούς, ούς έν τοίς ποσί τινες αὐτών χρυσούς έφερον, εκβαλόντες εκείνω τε τὸ κακὸν άντικρυς ενέσκηπτον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα άπεπέτοντο. άλλ' ήγε γὰρ² τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἔν τε ολιγωρία αὐτὸ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς πόλιν Μοῦνδαν ⁸ πρὸς μάχην δη κατέστη.

36 Εἶχον μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τε πολιτικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μαύρων ἀμφότεροι· Βόκχος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς υίεῖς τῷ Πομπηίω ἔπεμψε, Βογούας δὲ αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστράτευσεν· ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλ' ὡς αὐ-2 τῶν τῶν Ὑρωμαίων ἐγένετο. οἴ τε γὰρ Καισάρειοι στρατιῶται τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρία καὶ παρὰ

1 a supplied by Xyl.

² ἀλλ' ἦγε γὰρ Kuiper, ἄλλη τε γὰρ L.

Pompey, in consequence, being at a loss what to B.C. 45 do, at first moved about and wandered from place to place through the country; later on he became afraid that as a result of this yery course the rest of his adherents would also leave him in the lurch, and he chose to risk a decisive battle, although Heaven had beforehand indicated his defeat very clearly. To be sure, the drops of sweat that fell from the sacred statues, and the rumbling noises of legions, and the many creatures that were born outside their own species, and the torches darting from the east to the west, all of which signs occurred in Spain at that one time, did not make it clear to which of the two leaders they were revealing the future. But the eagles of Pompey's legions shook their wings and let fall the thunderbolts which they held in their talons, in some cases of gold; thus they seemed to be hurling the threatened disaster directly at Pompey and to be flying off of their own accord to Caesar. But he made light of it, for Destiny was leading him on; thus he established himself in the city of Munda in order to give battle.

Both leaders had in addition to their citizen and mercenary troops many of the natives and many Moors. For Bocchus had sent his sons to Pompey and Bogud in person made the campaign with Caesar. Still, the contest turned out to be like one between the Romans themselves, not between them and other nations. Caesar's soldiers derived courage from their numbers and experience and above all from their

παντα τη αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου παρουσία θαρσοῦντες ἀπαλλαγηναί ποτε τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶν ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ οἱ Πομπηίειοι τούτοις μὲν έλαττούμενοι, τη δ' ἀπογνώσει της σωτηρίας, 3 αν μη κρατήσωσιν, έρρωμένοι προεθυμοῦντο οξα γὰρ μετά τε τοῦ Αφρανίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οί πλείους αὐτῶν καὶ άλόντες καὶ σωθέντες, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Λογγίνω ἀποδοθέντες καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὔτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα συγγνώμης ήττηθέντες είχον, κάκ τούτου πρός $\dot{a}\pi\dot{o}\nu o i a \nu$, $\dot{\omega}_{S}$ καὶ κρατήσαι \dot{a} τότε \dot{a} \dot{n} πάντως γε 4 ἀπολέσθαι δεόμενοι, προήχθησαν. συμμίξαντες οὖν ἐμάχοντο· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖδὲ αἰδῶ τινα ἀλλήλων είχον έτι, τοσαυτάκις ε άντιπεπολεμηκότες, καί 37 διά τοῦτο μηδὲ παραινέσεώς τινος δεόμενοι. κάν τούτω τὰ μὲν συμμαχικὰ ταχέως ἑκατέρωθεν έτράπη καὶ ἔφυγεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι συσταδὸν άνακόπτοντες ά άλλήλους έπι πλείστον ήγωνίσαντο. οὐδὲ γὰρ ενέδωκεν αὐτῶν οὐδείς, ἀλλ' έν χώρα μένοντες ἔσφαζον ἔθνησκον, ώς καὶ αὐτὸς έκαστος ή της νίκης ή της ήττης καὶ 2 τοίς άλλοις άπασιν αίτιος έσόμενος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοί σφων έμάχοντο, άλλ' ώς καὶ μόνοι κινδυνεύοντες προεθυμοῦντο. 6 καὶ οὐτε ἐπαιώνιζέ 7 τις αὐτῶν ούτε έστενεν, άλλὰ τοσοῦτο 8 μόνον ξκάτεροι

¹ κρατήσαι Wagner, θαρσήσαι L 2 τότε Bk., πότε L.

 ^{*} έτι τοσαυτάκις Χyl , έπιτοσαυτάκις L.
 4 ἀνακόπτοιτες Naber, ἀντικόπτοντες L.

⁵ οὐδὲ γὰρ R. Steph., οῦτε L.

 ⁶ προεθυμοῦντο Bk., ὑπερεθυμοῦντο L.
 ⁷ ἐπαιώνιζέ Bs., after Bk., ἐπαιωνίζετο L.

⁸ τοσοῦτο R. Steph., τοσούτωι L, τοσοῦτον 2

leader's presence, and so were anxious to be done B.C 45 with the war and its attendant miseries. Pompey's men were inferior in these respects, but, becoming strong through their despair of safety, should they fail to conquer, they were full of eagerness. inasmuch as the majority of them had been captured with Afranius and Varro, had been spared, and afterwards delivered to Longinus, and had revolted from him, they had no hope of safety if they were beaten, and hence were reduced to desperation, feeling that they must now win or else perish utterly. So the armies came together and began the battle; for they no longer felt any compunction at killing each other, since they had been so many times opposed in arms, and hence required no urging. Thereupon the allies on both sides were quickly routed and fled; but the legions themselves struggled in close combat to the utmost in their resistance of each other. Not a man of them would yield; they remained in their places slaying and perishing, as if each individual were to be responsible to all the rest as well for the issue of victory or defeat. Consequently they were not concerned to see how their allies were battling, but fought as eagerly as if they alone were struggling. Neither sound of paean nor groan was to be heard from any one of them, but both sides merely shouted

¹ Cf note on p. 231.

βοωντες, "παίσον, ἀπόκτεινον," πολύ τῷ ἔργω 3 τὰς γλώσσας σφῶν ἔφθανον. ὁρῶντες οὖν ταῦτα ἀπό τε ἵππων καὶ ἀπὸ μετεώρων τινῶν χωρίων ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ εἶχον οὔθ' ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν¹ οὔθ' ὅπως ἀπογνῶσιν, ἀλλ' άμφίβολοι ταις γνώμαις γιγνόμενοι δι' ἴσου καὶ 4 τῷ δέει καὶ τῷ θάρσει ἐκακοπάθουν. ἀντιπάλου γάρ της μάχης ούσης ταις τε όψεσι δεινώς έκαμνον, επιθυμοῦντές τι ίδεῖν πλεονέκτημα καὶ οκνούντές τι ίδειν ελάττωμα, και ταις ψυχαις, εὐγόμενοί τέ τι ἄμα καὶ ἀπευχόμενοι καὶ ῥωννύμενοι καλ φοβούμενοι. οὔκουν οὖδ' ήδυνήθησαν έπὶ πολύ καρτερήσαι, άλλὰ καταπηδήσαντες 5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων συμμετέσχον αὐτῆς. οὕτω που τῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πόνω καὶ κινδύνω μαλλον ή τή τής ψυχής συντάσει συνείναι2 είλουτο, ροπήν τινα τοῖς ξαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ξκάτερος τῆ τῆς μάχης κοινωνία παρέξειν ελπίσαντες ή είγε εκείνης άμάρτοιεν, συντελευτήσαί νε αὐτοῖς ἡθέλησαν.

38 Καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο· τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατοπέδοις πλεονεξία μεν οὐδεμία οὐδετέροις ἐκ τούτου ἐγένετο, μακρῷ δὲ δὴ πλείων,³ ὡς ἐκείνους συγκινδυνεύοντάς σφισιν εἶδον, τοῦ τε σφετέρου θανάτου καταφρόνησις καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ὀλέθρου ἔφεσις ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἐνέ-2 πεσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἔφυγον τότε γε οὐδέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἰσοπαλεῖς ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες ἰσοκρατεῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγίγνοντο· κἂν

¹ οδθ' ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν supplied by "N" in Reimar's ed.

 ² συνείναι Leuncl., συνιέναι L.
 3 πλείων R. Steph., πλείω L.

"Strike! Kill!", while their deeds easily outran B.C. 45 their words. Caesar and Pompey, who witnessed these struggles from horseback from certain elevated positions, had no ground for either hope or despair, but, with their minds torn by doubts, were equally distressed by confidence and by fear. The battle was so evenly balanced that they suffered tortures at the sight as they strained to spy out some advantage, and shrank from discovering some setback. In mind, too, they suffered tortures, as they prayed for success and against misfortune, alternating between strength and fear. Therefore they were unable to endure it long, but leaped from their horses and joined in the conflict. Thus they preferred to share in it by personal exertion and danger rather than by tension of spirit, and each hoped by his participation in the fight to turn the scale somehow in favour of his own troops; or, failing that, they wished to die with them.

The leaders, then, took part in the battle themselves; yet no advantage came of this to either army. On the contrary, when the men saw their chiefs sharing their danger, a far greater disregard for their own death and eagerness for the destruction of their opponents seized both alike. Accordingly neither side for the moment turned to flight, but, matched in determination, they proved also to be matched in physical strength. All would have

πάντες ἀπέθανον ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν, εἰ μὴ ὅ τε ¹ Βογούας ἔξωθέ που τῶν συνεστηκότων ὢν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ὥρμησε, καὶ ὁ Λαβιῆνος ὡς τοῦτο εἶδε, τήν τε τάξιν έξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτράπετο. 3 φεύγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πομπηίειοι νομίσαντες ήθύμησαν. καὶ ἔμαθον μέν που τὸ ἀληθὲς ύστερου, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἔτ' ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ἀποφυγόντες οὖτοί τε τοὺς προσμίζαντάς σφισιν ίσχυρως απεμαχέσαντο, καί οὐ πρότερου γε έπεσου πρίυ ἀμφίβολοι γευέσθαι, 4 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πολύ διέσωσαν, ὥστε μη πρότερον αὐτο άλωναι πρίν πάντας σφας έν ταις εκδρομαις απολέσθαι. τοσούτον δ' οὐν τὸ σύνολον τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πάθος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγένετο ωστ' απορήσαντας όπως την πόλιν, μη καὶ νυκτὸς έκδρωσί τινες, ἀποτειχίσωσιν, αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτη περινησαι.2

Κρατήσας δὲ οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὴν Κόρδου-39 βαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν ὅ τε γὰρ Σέξτος οἱ προεξε-χώρησε,³ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καίτοι τῶν δούλων άνθισταμένων σφίσιν έπειδήπερ ήλευθέρωντο, 2 προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. καὶ δς τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς οπλοις όντας απέσφαξε, τους δε λοιπους εξηργυρίσατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἱσπαλιν έχοντας ἔδρασεν, οὶ το μέν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἐκούσιοι φρουρὰν παρ αὐτοῦ ἐσεδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ διαφθείραντες τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπολέμησαν. 3 επεστράτευσε τε οθν επ' αθτούς, καλ αμελέστερον

^{1 8} τε Bk., δτι γε L. 2 περινήσαι Madvig, ερινήσαι L. 3 προεξεχώρησε Χyl., προσεξεχώρησε L. 4 έδρασεν οι Bk., έδρασε και L

perished or at nightfall they would have parted with B.C. 45 honours even, had not Bogud, who was somewhere outside the conflict, set out for Pompey's camp, whereupon Labienus, observing this, left his station and proceeded against him. Pompey's men, then, supposing him to be in flight, lost heart; and though later, of course, they learned the truth, they could no longer recover themselves. Some fled to the city. some to the rampart. The latter body vigorously fought off their assailants and fell only when attacked from all sides, while the former long held the wall safe, so that it was not captured till all had perished in sallies. So great was the total loss of Romans on both sides that the victors, at a loss how to wall in the city to prevent any from running away in the night, actually heaped up the bodies of the dead around it.

Caesar, having thus conquered, straightway took Corduba also. For Sextus had retired out of his way and the natives came over to his side, although their slaves, since they had been made free, resisted them. He slew the slaves under arms and sold the rest. And he adopted the same course also with those who held Hispalis; for they had at first pretended to accept a garrison from him willingly, but afterwards destroyed the soldiers who came there, and entered upon war. So he made a campaign against them,

δηθεν προσεδρεύων έλπίδας σφίσιν ώς καὶ διαφυγείν δυνησομένοις παρέσχε. κάκ τούτου περιορών δη τους έκ του τείχους έξιόντας έκείνους τε ελόχιζε και απώλλυε, και την πόλιν ούτως 4 ἀνδρῶν κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρημωθεῖσαν εἶλε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μοῦνδαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ακούσια σὺν πολλῷ φόνω, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐθελούσια παρέλαβε καὶ ήργυρολόγησεν, ώστε μηδὲ τῶν τοῦ Ήρακλέους ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις ανακειμένων φείσασθαι, χώρας τέ τινων απετέμετο, καὶ έτέροις τὸν φόρον προσεπηύξησε. 5 ταθτα μέν τους άντιπολεμήσαντάς οἱ ἔδρασε, τοῦς 1 δὲ εὔνοιάν τινα αὐτοῦ σχοῦσιν ἔδωκε μὲν καὶ χωρία καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολιτείαν τέ τισι, καὶ ἄλλοις άποίκοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίζεσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ προῖκα αὐτὰ ἐχαρίσατο.

40 Καΐσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττε, Πομπήιος δὲ διαφυγών πως ἐν τῆ τροπῆ ἡλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ ἐν τῆ Καρτηίᾳ ὁρμοῦντι χρησόμενος, εὐρὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀποκεκλικότας ἐπέβη μὲν πλοίου τινός, 2 προσδοκήσας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διαδράσεσθαι. πληγεὶς δὲ ἐν τούτῷ καὶ ἀθυμήσας τῆ τε γῆ αὖθις προσ-έσχε, κἀνταῦθα συνελθόντας τινὰς παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειαν ὥρμησε. καὶ αὐτὸς τε Καισεννίῷ Λέντωνι περιπεσὼν ἡττήθη, καὶ ἐς ὅλην τινὰ καταφυγὼν ἐφθάρη καὶ ὁ Δίδιος ἀγνοῶν τε τοῦτο, καὶ πλανώμενος ὡς καὶ συμμίξων που αὐτῷ, συνέτυχεν ἑτέροις τισὶ καὶ ἀπόλετο.

¹ τοῖs R Steph., τοὺs L.
2 διαδράσεσθαι Bk., διαδράσασθαι L.

and by appearing to conduct the siege in a rather BC 45 careless fashion he gave them some hope of being able to escape. After this he would allow them to come outside the wall, where he would ambush and destroy them; in this way he captured the town, which had been gradually stripped of its men. Later he acquired Munda and the other places, some against their will and with great slaughter and others of their own accord. He levied tribute so rigorously that he did not even spare the offerings consecrated to Hercules in Gades; and he also took land from some cities and laid an added tribute upon others. This was his course toward those who had opposed him; but to those who had displayed any good-will toward him he granted lands and exemption from taxation, to some also citizenship, and to others the status of Roman colonists; he did not, however, grant these favours for nothing.

While Caesar was thus occupied, Pompey, who had escaped in the rout, reached the sea, intending to use the fleet that lay at anchor at Carteia, but found that the men had gone over to the victor's side. He then embarked on a vessel, expecting to escape in this manner; but being wounded in the course of the attempt, he lost heart and put back to land, and then, taking with him some men who had assembled, set out for the interior. He met Caesennius Lento and was defeated; and taking refuge in a wood, perished there. Didius, ignorant of his fate, while wandering about in the hope of meeting him somewhere, met some other troops and perished.

41 Ειλετο δ' αν καὶ ὁ Καισαρ ἐκεῖ που πρός τε τῶν ἔτι ἀνθεστηκότων καὶ ἐν τῆ τοῦ πολέμου δόξη πεπτωκέναι μαλλου ἡ ὅπερ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔπαθεν, έν τε τἢ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῷ πρὸς τῶν 2 φιλτάτων σφαγῆναι. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τελευταῖον κατώρθωσε καὶ ταύτην τὴν νίκην έσχάτην ἀνείλετο, καίπερ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν άλλων των μεγίστων καταπράξειν έλπίσας διά τε τάλλα, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι βλαστός τις ἐκ φοίνικος ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίω ὄντος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ 3 τῆ νίκη ἐξέφυ. καὶ οὐ λέγω μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔφερέ 1 ποι² τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνφ γε ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνφ τῷ 'Οκταουίφ' συνεστρατεύετό τε γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶν τε κινδύνων αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμψειν ἔμελλεν. ἀγνοῶν δ' οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐλπίζων, οὐδὲν μέτριον ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ 42 ἀθάνατος ὢν ὑπερεφρόνησε. τά τε γὰρ ἐπινίκια, καίτοι μηδενός άλλοτρίου κρατήσας άλλα καί τοσούτο πλήθος πολιτών ἀπολέσας, οὐ μόνον αύτὸς ἔπεμψε, πάντα τὸν δημον ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ έπλ κοινοίς τισιν άγαθοίς αθθις έστιάσας, άλλά καλ τῷ Φαβίω τῷ Κυίντω τῷ τε Κυίντω Πεδίω,3 καίτοι υποστρατηγήσασιν αυτώ και μηδέν ιδία 2 κατορθώσασι, διεορτάσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ ἢν μέν που γέλως ἐπὶ τε τούτφ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ξυλίναις άλλ' οὐκ έλεφαντίναις έργων τέ τινων εἰκόσιν άλλοις τε τοιούτοις πομπείοις έχρήσαντο οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμφανέστατα τριττά τε νικητήρια καὶ

¹ οὐκ ἔφερέ Casaub., συνέφερέ L. ² ποι Βκ., πηι L. ³ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυἴντῳ τῷ τε Κυἴντῳ Πεδίῳ Mommsen, τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ τε Κυἴντῳ L.

Caesar, too, would doubtless have chosen to fall B.C. 45 there, at the hands of those who were still resisting and amid the glory of war, in preference to the fate he met not long afterward of being murdered in his own land and in the senate at the hands of his dearest friends. For this was the last war that he carried through successfully, and this the last victory that he won, in spite of the fact that there was no other project so great that he did not hope to accomplish In this hope he was confirmed especially by the circumstance that from a palm that stood on the site of the battle a shoot grew out immediately after the victory. Now I do not assert that this had no bearing in some direction, yet it was no longer for him, but for his sister's grandson, Octavius; for the latter was making the campaign with him, and was destined to gain great lustre from his toils and dangers. As Caesar did not know this, and hoped that many great successes would still fall to his own lot, he showed no moderation, but was filled with arrogance, as if immortal. For, although he had conquered no foreign nation, but had destroyed a vast number of citizens, he not only celebrated the triumph himself, incidentally feasting the entire populace once more, as if in honour of some common blessing, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius to hold a celebration, although they had merely been his lieutenants and had achieved no individual success. Naturally this occasioned ridicule, as did also the fact that they used wooden instead of ivory representations of certain achievements together with other similar triumphal apparatus. Nevertheless, most brilliant triple triumphs and

τριτταλ πομπαλ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων έποιήθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἱερομηνίαι ἐπὶ πεν-3 τήκοντα ήμέρας ήχθησαν. τά τε Παρίλια ίπποδρομία ἀθανάτφ, οὔτι γε καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ότι έν αὐτοῖς ἔκτιστο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκην, ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῆ προτεραία πρὸς

έσπέραν ἀφίκετο, ἐτιμήθη.

Τοῦτο μέν δη τη 'Ρώμη έδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τήν τε στολην την επινίκιον εν πάσαις ταις πανηγύρεσι κατὰ δόγμα ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ δαφνίνῳ άει και πανταχού όμοίως έκοσμείτο. και πρόφασιν μεν εποιείτο τούτου 2 ότι αναφαλαντίας ήν, παρείχε δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου λόγον τινά, καὶ ότι τότε έτι, καίπερ παρηβηκώς, ές κάλλος ήσκει 2 τη τε γὰρ ἐσθητι χαυνοτέρα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐνηβρύνετο, καὶ τῆ ὑποδέσει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνίοτε καὶ ύψηλη καὶ ἐρυθροχρόφ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς έν τη "Αλβη ποτέ γενομένους, ώς και προσήκων 3 σφίσι διὰ τὸν Ἰουλον, ἐχρῆτο. τό τε ὅλον τῆ τε 'Αφροδίτη πᾶς ἀνέκειτο, καὶ πείθειν πάντας ήθελεν δτι καὶ ἄνθος τι ώρας ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔχοι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γλύμμα αὐτῆς ἔνοπλον ἐφόρει, καλ σύνθημα αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καλ μεγίστοις 4 κινδύνοις ἐποιεῖτο. τὸ δ' οὖν χαῦνον τοῦ ζώματος 7 αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ὑπετόπησεν, ώστε καὶ ἀποκτείναι αὐτὸν ἐθελῆσαι, τοίς τε ἐξαιτησαμένοις είπειν δτι " έγω μέν χαριοθμαι τοθτον υμίν, ύμεις μέντοι και πάνυ τοῦτον τον κακώς ζωννύ-

¹ τε Rk., τε γάρ L 2 τούτου Rk., τοῦτο L.

³ δτι supplied by Leuncl. 4 Ιουλον Χyl., ἰούλιον L.

⁵ ανέκειτο Xyl., ανεκινεῖτο L.

⁸ πάντας ήθελεν R. Steph., πάντες ήθελον L.

⁷ ζώματος Χyl., σώματος L Xiph. ⁸ εἰπεῖν Χiph., εἶπεν L. 286

triple processions of the Romans were held in 2 C. 45 honour of those very events, and furthermore a thanksgiving of fifty days was observed. The Parilia was honoured by permanent annual games in the Circus, yet not at all because the city had been founded on that day, but because the news of Caesar's victory had arrived the day before, toward evening

Such was his gift to Rome. For himself, he wore the triumphal garb, by decree, at all the games, and was adorned with the laurel crown always and everywhere alike. The excuse that he gave for it was that his forehead was bald; yet he gave occasion for talk by this very circumstance that at that time. though well past youth, he still bestowed attention upon his appearance. He used to show among all men his pride in rather loose clothing, and the footwear which he used later on was sometimes high and of a reddish colour, after the style of the kings who had once reigned in Alba, for he claimed that he was related to them through Iulus. general he was absolutely devoted to Venus, and was anxious to persuade everybody that he had received from her a kind of bloom of youth. Accordingly he used also to wear a carven image of her in full armour on his ring and he made her name his watchword in almost all the greatest dangers. Sulla had looked askance at the looseness of his girdle,1 so much so that he had wished to kill him, and declared to those who begged him off: "Well, I will grant him to you; but be thoroughly

¹ Implying licentiousness and general laxity of morals.

μενον φυλάττεσθε·" ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων οὐ συνενοη-5 σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαλεὶς ἔφη ὅτι "οὐκ ἄν ποτε προσεδόκησα τὸν κακῶς οὕτω ζωννύμενον Πομ-

πηίου κρατήσειν."

Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκβολῆ τοῦ λόγου, ὥστε μηδένα μηδέν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος λεγομένων 44 άγνοησαι, έγραψα 1 έπι δε δη τη νίκη εκείνά τε δσα εἶπον ή γερουσία ἔγνω, καὶ προσέτι αὐτόν τε 'Ελευθερωτήν καὶ ἐκάλουν καὶ ἐς τὰ γραμματεῖα ανέγραφον, καὶ νεων Ἐλευθερίας δημοσία έψηφί-2 σαντο. τό τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔτι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις 2 έκ των πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδ' ώς οί τινα αὐτοτελή ήγεμονίαν ή καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ έξουσίαν λαβόντες ώνομάζοντο, άλλα καθάπαξ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσι διδόμενον ἐκείνω τότε πρώτω τε καὶ πρώτον, 3 ὥσπερ τι κύριον, προσέθεσαν. καὶ τοσαύτη γε 3 ύπερβολή κολακείας έχρήσαντο ώστε καὶ τοὺς παίδας τούς τε έγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι ψηφίσασθαι, μήτε τέκνον τι αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ γέροντος ήδη όντος. δθενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορας ή ἐπίκλησις αὕτη,* ωσπερ τις ίδία της άρχης αὐτῶν οὖσα καθάπερ 4 καὶ ή τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀφίκετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ άρχαῖον ἐκ τούτου κατελύθη, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἑκάτερον καί δια τουτο και δεύτερον έπ' αὐτων ἐπάγεται, δταν νίκην τινά τοιαύτην ανέλωνται. οί μέν γάρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτορες ἄπαξ τῆ προσηγορία

¹ έγραψα Rk., διέγραψα L.

² πολλάκις Rk., ως πολλάκις L. ³ γε H. Steph., τε L

⁴ ή ἐπίκλησις αδτη Leunel., τῆι ἐπικλήσει αὐτῆι Ĺ.

on your guard against this ill-girt fellow." And s.c. 4. Cicero could not comprehend it, but even in the moment of defeat said: "I should never have expected one so ill-girt to conquer Pompey."

This I have written by way of digression from my history, so that no one might be ignorant of any of the stories told about Caesar. In honour of his victory the senate passed all those decrees that I have mentioned, and further called him "Liberator," entering it also in the records, and voted for a public temple of Liberty. Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title of imperator, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars, nor even as those who received some independent command or other authority were called by this name, but giving him once for all the same title that is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power. And such excessive flattery did they employ as even to vote that his sons and grandsons should be given the same title, though he had no child and was already an old From him this title has come down to all subsequent emperors, as one peculiar to their office, just like the title "Caesar." The ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown, but both usages exist side by side. Consequently the emperors are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. For those who are imperatores in the special sense use

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' ταύτη, ὄσπερ¹ ταῖς ἄλλαις, καὶ πρώτη γε 5 χρώνται οι 2 δ' αν και δια πολέμων άξιόν τι αυτής κατορθώσωσι, και έκείνην την άπο τοῦ άρχαίου προσλαμβάνουσι, κάκ τούτου καὶ δεύτερόν τις καὶ τρίτον πλεονάκις τε, όσάκις ἂν

ώστε εν τώ δημοσίω οικείν, ίερομηνίαν τε

παράσχη οί, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπονομάζεται. Ταθτά τε οθν τότε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ οἰκίαν

έξαίρετον δσάκις ἃν νίκη τέ τις συμβή καὶ θυσίαι ἐπ' αὐτῆ γίγνωνται, κἂν μήτε συστρατεύσηται μήθ' όλως ἐπικοινωνήση ³ τῶν καταπραχθέντων, 45 έδοσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν εἰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα έξω τε τοῦ καθεστηκότος τισίν 4 εδόκει είναι, οὐτι γε καὶ ἀδημοκράτητα ἢν ἔτερα δὲ δὴ τοιάδε έψηφίσαντο δι' ων καὶ μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς ἀπέδειξαν. τάς τε γὰρ ἀρχας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς τοῦ πλήθους ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα έτη, ώστε καὶ δικτάτορα πρότερον, προεχειρί-2 σαντο· στρατιώτας τε μόνον έχειν καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα μόνον διοικείν ἐκέλευσαν, ώστε μηδενὶ \ddot{a} λλ ϕ μη \dot{b} ετ $\dot{\epsilon}$ ρ ϕ $a\dot{\upsilon}$ τ $\dot{\omega}$ u, \ddot{o} τ ϕ μ $\dot{\eta}$ 5 $\dot{\epsilon}$ κ ϵ $\ddot{\iota}$ uος $\dot{\epsilon}$ π ι τρέψειεν, έξειναι χρησθαι. καὶ τότε μέν άνδριάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλεφάντινον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄρμα όλον ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις μετὰ τῶν θείων 3 ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἔγνωσαν. ἄλλην τέ τινα είκόνα ες του του Κυρίνου του Θεώ ανικήτω έπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρά τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη

¹ Εσπερ Βk., Έσπερ ἐν L. 2 οἱ Dind , οἷs L. 3 κὰν μήτε συστρατεύσηται μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήση Naber, καὶ μήτε συστρατεύσηι τις μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνῆσαι L.

⁴ τισίν Naber, σφίσιν L. ⁵ μη Bk., μηδέ L.

⁶ Kupivou R. Steph., kuipivou L.

BOOK XLIII

this title once, as they do the other titles, and place B.C. 45 it before the others; but those of them who also accomplish in war some deed worthy of it acquire also the title handed down by ancient custom, so that a man is termed *imperator* a second or a third time, or as many more times as the occasion may arise.

These privileges they granted then to Caesar, as well as a house, so that he might live in state property, and a special thanksgiving whenever any victory should occur and sacrifices should be offered for it, even if he had not been on the campaign or had any hand at all in the achievements. Nevertheless, these measures, even though they seemed to some immoderate and contrary to precedent, were not thus far undemocratic. But the senate passed the following decrees besides, by which they declared him a monarch out and out. For they offered him the magistracies, even those belonging to the plebs, and elected him consul for ten years, as they previously had made him dictator. They ordered that he alone should have soldiers, and alone administer the public funds, so that no one else should be allowed to employ either of them, save whom he permitted. And they decreed at this time that an ivory statue of him, and later that a whole chariot, should appear in the procession at the games in the Circus, together with the statues of the gods. Another likeness they set up in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription, "To the Invincible God," and another on the Capitol beside the former kings

4 ἀνέθεσαν. καί μοι θαυμάσαι τῆς συντυχίας ἐπέρχεται· ὀκτὰ γὰρ ἄμα αὐτῶν (ἐπτὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις, ὀγδόης ¹ δὲ τῷ γε ² Βρούτῳ τῷ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους ³ καταλύσαντι) οὐσῶν παρὰ ταύτην τότε τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔστησαν, καὶ δῆτα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος κινηθεὶς ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ.

46 Ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῆ ⁴ νίκη (λέγω ⁵ δὲ οὐ πάντα, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀξιόλογα εἶναί μοι ἔδοξεν) οὐκ ἐν μιῷ γε ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλο ἄλλη ἐκυρώθη· καί σφων ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν χρῆσθαι ἤρξατο τοῖς δὲ ἔμελλεν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστά τινα ² ἀὐτῶν παρώκατο, τὸν δ' οῦν ἀρχὸν τὸν ἔπατονού

- 2 αὐτῶν παρήκατο. τὴν δ' οὖν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὕπατον ταραχρῆμα μέν, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, ἀνέλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τέλους ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη γενόμενος ἀπεῖπέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ Φαβίω τῷ Κυίντω τῷ τε Τρεβωνίω τῷ Γαίω ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ὁ Φάβιος τῆ τελευταία τῆς ὑπατείας ἡμέρα ἀπέθανεν, εὐθὺς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔτερον πρὸς τὰς περιλοίπους ὥρας Γάιον
- ετερον προς τας περικοιπους ωρας Γαιου Κανίνιου τ' Υήβιλου ε άνθείλετο. πρώτον μεν δη τότε τοῦτο παρά τὸ καθεστηκὸς εγένετο, τὸ μήτε ετησίαν μήτε ες πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τοῦ ετους τὴν ἀρχὴν εκείνην τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντά τινα αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ ἀναγκασθέντα μήτε εκ τῶν πατρίων θ μήτε εξ ἐπηγορίας τινὸς ἐκστῆναι,

¹ δγδόης Bk., δγδόωι L. 2 γε H. Steph., τε L.

³ Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυινίους L.

⁴ τη supplied by Pflugk. ⁵ λέγω R. Steph., λέγων L.

 ⁶ επατον R. Steph., επαυτον L.
 7 Κανίνιον R. Steph., κάννιον L (and so just below).

 ⁸ 'Pήβιλον Wagner, βήβιον L.
 ⁹ τῶν πατρίων Rk., πατρώιων L.

BOOK XLIII

of Rome. Now it occurs to me to marvel at the B.C. 45 coincidence: there were eight such statues,—seven to the kings, and an eighth to the Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins,—and they set up the statue of Caesar beside the last of these; and it was from this cause chiefly that the other Brutus, Marcus, was roused to plot against him.

These were the measures that were passed in honour of his victory (I do not mention all, but as many as have seemed to me notable), not in one day, to be sure, but just as it happened, at different times. Caesar began to avail himself of some, and was intending to use others in the future, however emphatically he declined some of them. Thus he took the office of consul immediately, even before entering the city, but did not hold it through the whole year; instead, when he got to Rome he renounced it, turning it over to Quintus Fabius and Gaius Trebonius. When Fabius died on the last day of his consulship, he straightway named another man, Gaius Caninius Rebilus, in his place for the remaining hours. This was the first violation of precedent at this time, that one and the same man did not hold that office for a year or even for all the rest of the same year, but while living withdrew from it without compulsion from either ancestral custom or any accusation, and another took

4 καλ έτερον αντ' αύτοῦ αντικαταστήναι. δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Κανίνιος ἀπεδείχθη τε ἄμα ὕπατος καὶ ύπάτευσε καὶ ἐπαύσατο ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων διασκώπτων τοσαύτη έφη τον ύπατον καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ φρουτίδι ἐν τῆ ἀρχῆ κεχρῆσθαι ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ 5 βραχύτατον εν αὐτη κεκοιμήσθαι. εκ δ' οὖν τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ έτους, πλην ολίγων πάλαι γε, υπάτευσαν, άλλ' ως που καὶ ἔτυχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείους οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἐλάττους, οί μεν μήνας οί δε ήμερας, έπει νύν γε ούδεις ούτε 1 ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ούτε ἐς πλείω διμήνου χρόνον 6 ώς πλήθει σὺν έτέρω τινὶ ἄρχει. καὶ τὰ μὲν άλλα οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν άλλήλων, τὴν δὲ έξαρίθμησιν τῶν ἐτῶν οἱ κατὰ πρώτας αὐτῶν ύπατεύοντες καρποθνται, καὶ έγω οθν των μέν άλλων τούς τοίς πράγμασιν άναγκαίους ὀνομάσω, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τῶν ἀεὶ πραττομένων δήλωσιν τοὺς πρώτους ἄρξαντας, κᾶν μηδεν ἔργον ἐς αὐτὰ παράσχωνται.

47 Περί μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο·
οί δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες λόγω μὲν ὑπό τε τοῦ
πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια
(τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέξατο),
ἔργω δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἔς γε τὰ
2 ἔθνη ἀκληρωτὶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν. ἀριθμὸν δὲ οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι ὅσοιπερ καὶ πρότερον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ
τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ταμίαι τε τεσσαράκοντα ἀπεδείχθησαν. πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ πολλὰ ὑπεσχημένος

1 ούτε Bk., οὐδε L. 2 ἄρξαντας Χyl., πράξαντας L.

his place. Again, there was the fact that Caninius B.C. 45 was appointed consul, served, and ceased to serve all at the same time. Hence Cicero jestingly remarked that the consul had displayed such great bravery and prudence in office as never to fall asleep in it for the briefest moment. So after that period the same persons no longer (except a few in the beginning) acted as consuls through the whole year, but according to circumstances, some for a longer time, some for a shorter, some for months, others for days; indeed, at the present time no one serves with any one else, as a rule, for a whole year or for a longer period than two months. In general we consuls to-day do not differ from one another. but the naming of the years is the privilege of those who are consuls at the beginning. Accordingly, in the case of the other consuls I shall name only those who were closely connected with the events mentioned, but in order to secure perfect clearness with regard to the succession of events, I shall mention also those who first held office in each vear, even if they make no contribution to its events.

While the consuls were appointed in this manner, the remaining magistrates were nominally elected by the plebs and by the whole people, in accordance with ancestral custom, since Caesar would not accept the appointment of them; yet really they were appointed by him, and were sent out to the provinces without casting lots. As for their number, all were the same as before, except that fourteen praetors and forty quaestors were appointed. For, since he had made many promises to many people,

he had no other way to reward them, and hence BC. 45 took this method. Furthermore, he enrolled a vast number in the senate, making no distinction whether a man was a soldier or the son of a freedman, so that the sum of them grew to nine hundred; and he enrolled many also among the patricians and among the ex-consuls and such as had held some other office He released some who were on trial for bribery and were being proved guilty, so that he was charged with bribe-taking himself. This report was strengthened by the fact that he also put up at auction all the public lands, not only the profane, but also the consecrated lots, and sold most of them. Nevertheless, he granted ample gifts to some persons in the form of money or the sale of lands; and in the case of a certain Lucius Basilus, who was practor, instead of assigning him a province he bestowed a large amount of money upon him, so that Basilus became notorious both on this account as well as because, when insulted during his practorship by Caesar, he had held out against him. All this suited those citizens who were receiving or even expecting to receive something, since they had no regard for the public weal in comparison with the chance of the moment for their own advancement by such means. But all the rest took it greatly to heart and had much to say about it to each other and also-as many as felt safe in so doing-in outspoken utterances and the publication of anonymous pamphlets

Έν δ' οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐκεῖνά τε ἐπράχθη, καλ έπλ της διοικήσεως δύο των πολιανομούντων, έπειδή ταμίας οὐδείς προεκεχειροτόνητο, ἐγένοντο. ώσπερ γάρ ποτε πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐν τῆ άποδημία τη του Καίσαρος οι πολιανόμοι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πράγματα μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου 2 ίππαρχοῦντος ἔσχον καὶ αἰτιαθέντες γε ὅτι καὶ ραβδούχοις καὶ τῆ ἐσθῆτι τῷ τε δίφρῳ τοῖς άρχικοις, ώσπερ και ὁ ίππαρχος, ἐκέχρηντο,1 άφείθησαν, νόμον τινά προβαλλόμενοι δι οδ πασι τοις παρά δικτάτορος άρχήν τινα λαβοῦσι 3 χρησθαι αὐτοις ἐδίδοτο. τὸ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν, έξ εκείνου δι' άπερ είπον παρατραπέν, οὐκέτι τοῖς ταμίαις ἀεὶ ἐπετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταίον τοίς ἐστρατηγηκόσι προσετάχθη. τούς τε οὖν θησαυροὺς τοὺς δημοσίους δύο τότε τῶν πολιανομούντων διώκησαν, καὶ τὰ ᾿Απολλώνια ό έτερος αὐτῶν τῆ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευή 4 ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὰ Μεγαλήσια κατὰ δόγμα ἐποίησαν. πολίαρχός τέ τις ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς καταστὰς ἔτερον αὐτὸς της ὑστεραίας ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλον.

δ μήτε πρότερον μήθ' ὕστερόν ποτε ἐγένετο.

Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπράχθη· τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει,
ἐν ῷ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδικτατόρευσέ τε ἄμα τὸ πέμπτον,
ἵππαρχον τὸν Λέπιδον προσλαβών, καὶ ὑπάτευσε
τὸ πέμπτον, συνάρχοντα τὸν 'Αντώνιον προσελόμενος, στρατηγοί τε ἐκκαίδεκα ἢρξαν (καὶ τοῦτο
καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη . . . ²), καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ
που πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὃν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον

1 ἐκέχρηντο R. Steph., ἐκέχρητο L.

² Some word like ἐγίγνετο, ἐγένετο, or συνέβη has fallen out.

BOOK XLIII

In addition to these measures carried out that BC. 45 year, two of the city prefects took charge of the finances, since no quaestor had been elected. For just as on former occasions, so now in the absence of Caesar, the prefects managed all the affairs of the city, in conjunction with Lepidus as master of the horse. And although they were censured for employing lictors and the magisterial garb and chair precisely like the master of the horse, they got off by citing a certain law which allowed all those receiving any office from a dictator to make use of such trappings. The administration of the finances, after being diverted at this time for the reasons I have mentioned, was no longer invariably assigned to the quaestors, but was finally assigned to ex-praetors. Two of the city prefects then managed the public treasuries, and one of them celebrated the Ludi Apollinares at Caesar's cost. The plebeian aediles conducted the Ludi Megalenses in accordance with a decree. A certain prefect, appointed during the Ferrae, himself chose a successor on the following day, and the latter a third; this had never happened before, nor did it happen again.

These were the events at this time. The next B.C. 44 year, during which Caesar was at once dictator for the fifth time, with Lepidus as master of the horse, and consul for the fifth time, choosing Antony as his colleague, sixteen practors were in power,—a custom, indeed, that was continued for many years,—and the rostra, which was formerly in the centre of the Forum, was moved back to its present

ἀνεχωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε 1 Πομπηίου εἰκὼν ἀπεδόθη. καὶ ἐπί τε 1 τούτῷ εἴκλειαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχεν, καὶ ὅτι τῷ ᾿Αντωνίῷ καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆς παρεχώρησε. θέατρόν τέ τι κατὰ τὸν Πομπήιον οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐθελησας προκατεβάλετο ² μέν, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκποιήσας ἀπὸ Μάρκου 3 Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ ³ ἐπωνόμασε· τὰς δὲ οἰκίας τούς τε ναοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χωρίῷ ἐκείνῷ ὄντας ὁ Καῖσαρ καθελὼν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὅτι τε τὰ ἀγάλματα, ξύλινα πλὴν ὀλίγων ὄντα, κατέκαυσε, καὶ θησανροὺς χρημάτων συχνοὺς εῦρὼν πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσφετερίσατο.

Ταῦτά τε ἐποίει καὶ νόμους ἐσέφερε τό τε 50 πωμήριον έπὶ πλείον ἐπεξήγαγε. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις άλλοις τέ τισιν όμοια τῷ Σύλλα πράξαι έδοξεν έκ δέ τοῦ τοῖς τε περιλειφθεῖσι τῶν άντιπολεμησάντων οί τάς τε αίτίας άφειναι καὶ 2 ἄδειαν ἐπί τε τῆ ἴση καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ ὁμοία δοῦναι, καὶ έκείνων τε τὰς ἄρχὰς προαγαγείν καὶ ταις γυναιξί τῶν ἀπολωλότων τὰς προίκας ἀποδοῦναι, τοίς τε παισίν αὐτῶν μέρη τῶν οὐσιῶν χαρίσασθαι, τήν τε τοῦ Σύλλου μιαιφονίαν μεγάλως ήλεγξε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνδρεία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ χρηστότητι ἰσχυρῶς εὐδοκίμησεν, καίτοι χαλεπον ον ώς πλήθει τον αὐτον καὶ ἐν πολέμω καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη 3 διαπρέψαι, τούτοις τε οὖν ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ ὅτι καλ την Καργηδόνα την τε Κόρινθον ανέστησεν.

3 άδελφιδού R. Steph., άδελφιδούs L.

¹ τε supplied by Bk.

² προκατεβάλετο Leuncl., προκατελάβετο L.

position; also the statues of Sulla and of Pompey were restored to it. For this Caesar received praise, and also because he yielded to Antony both the glory of the work and the inscription on it. Being anxious to build a theatre, as Pompey had done, he laid the foundations, but did not finish it; it was Augustus who later completed it and named it for his nephew, Marcus Marcellus. But Caesar was blamed for tearing down the dwellings and temples on the site, and likewise because he burned up the statues, which were almost all of wood, and because on finding large hoards of money he appropriated them all.

Besides this, he introduced laws and extended the pomerium; in these and other matters his course was thought to resemble that of Sulla. Caesar, however, removed the ban from the survivors of those who had warred against him, granting them immunity on fair and uniform terms; he promoted them to office; to the wives of the slain he restored their dowries, and to their children he granted a share of the property, thus putting Sulla's cruelty mightily to shame and gaining for himself a great reputation not alone for bravery but also for goodness, although it is generally a difficult thing for the same man to excel both in war and in peace. This was a source of pride to him, as was also the fact that he had restored again Carthage and Corinth.

πολλάς μεν γάρ καὶ ἄλλας ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία καὶ έξω πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἀνφκοδόμησε, τὰς δὲ καὶ 4 ἐκ καινῆς κατεστήσατο ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ άλλοις τισίν ἐπέπρακτο, τὴν δὲ δὴ Κόρινθον τήν τε Καρχηδόνα, πόλεις άρχαίας λαμπράς έπισήμους ἀπολωλυίας, $\mathring{\eta}^1$ μὲν ἀποικίας Ῥωμαίων ἐνόμισεν, ἀπώκισεν, $\mathring{\mathring{\eta}}^1$ δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὀνόμασιν 5 ἐτίμησεν, ἀπέδωκεν τῆ μνήμη τῶν ἐνοικησάντων ποτε αὐτάς, μηδεν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔχθραν τοῖς χωρίοις τοις μηδέν σφας άδικήσασι μνησικακήσας.

Καὶ αἱ μέν, ὥσπερ ἄμα πρότερον καθηρέθησαν, ούτω και τότε άμα ανεβιώσκοντο και έμελλον και 51 αὖθις ἀνθήσειν· πράττοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐπιθυμία τε πασι τοις 'Ρωμαίοις όμοίως έσηλθε τιμωρήσαι τῷ τε Κράσσφ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φθαρείσι, καὶ ἐλπὶς τότε, εἴπερ ποτέ, τοὺς Πάρθους καταστρέψεσθαι.2 τόν τε οὖν πόλεμον τῶ Καίσαρι δμοθυμαδον έψηφίσαντο, και την παρα- $2 \sigma \kappa \epsilon \upsilon \dot{\eta} \upsilon^3 \alpha \dot{\upsilon} \tau o \dot{\upsilon} \pi o \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} \upsilon \epsilon \pi o \iota o \dot{\upsilon} \upsilon \tau o$. $\tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \epsilon \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ άλλα, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖνός τε πλείοσιν ὑπηρέταις χρησθαι έχη, καὶ ἡ τόλις μήτ' ἄνευ ἀρχόντων ἐν τη απουσία αὐτοῦ γένηται μήτ' αὖ καθ' έαυτην αίρουμένη 5 τινάς στασιάση, διενοούντο μεν καί ές τρία έτη αὐτοὺς προκαταστήσαι (τοσούτου γὰρ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρήζειν εδόκουν) οὐ 3 μέντοι καὶ πάντας προαπέδειξαν. ήρεῖτο δὲ τῷ μεν λόγω 6 τους ημίσεις δ Καισαρ, εν νόμω τινί

 ¹ η R. Steph., η L.
 ² καταστρέψεσθαι Bs., καταστρέψασθαι L.

⁸ παρασκευήν Rk., κατασκευήν L. 4 h Rk., # Te L.

⁵ αίρουμένη R. Steph., αίρουμένης L. 6 δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγφ Bs., μὲν τῶι λόγωι L.

To be sure, there were many other cities in and sc. 44 outside of Italy which he had either rebuilt or founded anew; still, other men had done as much. But in the case of Corinth and Carthage, those ancient, brilliant, and distinguished cities which had been laid in ruins, he not only colonized them, in that he regarded them as colonies of the Romans, but also restored them in memory of their former inhabitants, in that he honoured them with their ancient names; for he bore no grudge, on account of the hostility of those peoples, towards places that had never harmed the Romans.

So these cities, even as they had once been demolished together, now began to revive together and bade fair to flourish once more. But while Caesar was thus engaged, a longing came over all the Romans alike to avenge Crassus and those who had perished with him, and they felt some hope of subjugating the Parthians then, if ever. They unanimously voted the command of the war to Caesar. and made ample provision for it. Among other details, they decided that he should have a generous number of assistants, and also, in order that the city should neither be without officials in his absence nor, again, by attempting to choose some on its own responsibility, fall into strife, that the magistrates should be appointed in advance for three years, this being the length of time they thought necessary for the campaign. Nevertheless, they did not designate them all beforehand. Nominally Caesar chose half of them, having a certain legal right to do this, but in reality

τοῦτο ποιησάμενος, ἔργφ δὲ πάντας. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸ πρώτον έτος ταμίαι τεσσαράκοντα προεχειρίσθησαν ώσπερ καὶ πρότερου, καὶ ἀγορανόμοι τότε πρώτον δύο μέν και έξ εὐπατριδών, τέσσαρες δέ έκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὧν οἱ δύο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐπίκλησιν φέρουσιν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐξ ἐκεί-4 νου καταδειχθὲν ἐμμεμένηκε. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα· ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο γράφω (καὶ γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν) ἀλλ' ὅτι ¹ καὶ ὁ Π ούπ λ ιος δ Ω ὐεντί δ ιος 2 ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡρέhetaη. $\,$ οῧτος $\,$ γάρ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πικήνου, ικοπερ εἴρηταί μοι, ην, αντιπολεμήσας δε τοις Ρωμαίοις ότε 5 οί σύμμαχοί σφισιν έπολεμώθησαν, ήλω τε ύπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος καὶ ἐν τοῖς νικητηρίοις αὐτοῦ δεδεμένος ἐπόμπευσε, καὶ μετά τοῦτο ἀφεθεὶς ἔς τε τὸ συνεδριον χρόνω ὕστερον ενεγράφη καὶ στρατηγὸς τότε ὑπὸ 3 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε προιών ἐπηυξήθη ώστε καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους νικῆσαι καὶ ἐπινίκια αὖτῶν 6 πέμψαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἔτει ἄρξοντες πάντες προκατέστησαν, ές δὲ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον οί τε υπατοι και οί δήμαρχοι μόνοι τοσούτον 7 έδέησε καὶ ές τὸ τρίτον τινὰ ἀποδειχθῆναι. έμελλε καὶ αὐτὸς δικτάτωρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς άρξειν, τούς τε ίππαρχήσοντας άλλον τέ τινα καί τον 'Οκτάουιον, καίπερ μειράκιον έτι και τότε 8 όντα, προεχειρίσατο. ἔς τε τὸ παρόν, ἐν ὧ ταῦτ' έγίγνετο, ΰπατόν τε άνθ' ξαυτοῦ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν άντικατέστησε, καίτοι τοῦ Αντωνίου πάντα τὸν

¹ άλλ' δτι Βk., άλλ' δτι άλλοι το Rk., άλλόι το L.

Οὐεντίδιος R. Steph., οὐεντίλιος L. ὁ ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ L.
 τούς τε ἰππαρχήσοντας Leunel., τοῦ τε ἰππαρχήσαντος L.

⁵ αντικατέστησε R. Steph., αντεκατέστησε L.

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he chose the whole number. For the first year, as B.C. 44 previously, forty quaestors were elected, and now for the first time two patrician aediles as well as four from the plebs. Of the latter two have their title from Ceres, a custom which, then introduced, has remained to the present day. And practors were appointed to the number of sixteen; it is not of this, however, that I would write, since there had formerly been just as many, but of the fact that among those chosen was Publius Ventidius. He was originally from Picenum, as has been remarked, and fought against Rome when her allies were at war with her. He was captured by Pompeius Strabo,2 and marched in chains in that general's triumph, Later he was released and subsequently was enrolled in the senate, and now was appointed practor by Caesar; and he went on advancing until he finally conquered the Parthians and held a triumph over them. All were thus appointed in advance who were to hold office the first year after that, but for the second year only the consuls and tribunes; so far were they from appointing anybody for the third year. Caesar himself intended to be dictator both years, and designated as masters of horse another man and Octavius, though the latter was at that time a mere lad. For the time being, while this was going on, Caesar appointed Dolabella consul in his own stead, leaving Antony to finish out his

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¹ The Aediles Cercales.

² The father of Pompey the Great.

ἐνιαυτὸν μέλλοντος ἄρξειν· καὶ τῷ Λεπίδῷ τήν τε Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν πλησιόχωρον προστάξας, δύο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ¹ ἐτέρους, ἰδίᾳ γε ἐκάτερον, ἱππαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε. 9 πολλοῖς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ² ὀφείλων διά τε τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὰς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερωσυνῶν ἀπεδίδου, ἔς τε τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔνα καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἑπτὰ αὖ καλουμένους τρεῖς ἑτέρους προσαποδείξας.

1 αὐτοῦ St., αὐτῶν L. 2 εὐεργεσίας Leuncl., εὐεργεσίαν L.

BOOK XLIII

year in office. To Lepidus he assigned Gallia Nar- BC 44 bonensis and Hither Spain, and appointed two men masters of horse in his place, each to act separately. For owing favours, as he did, to many persons, he repaid them by such appointments as these and by priesthoods, adding one man to the Quindecimviri, and three others to the Septemviri, as they were called.

BOOK XLIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περί τῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ψηφισθέντων.
- β. Περί της έπιβουλης της έπ' αὐτὸν συστάσης.
- γ. ΄Ως Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη.
- δ 'Ως δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις.
- Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου.

Χρόνου πλήθος μέρος τι 1 τής Γουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ϵ' μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ϵ' μετὰ Μάρκου 2 Αντωνίου

Ο μεν οὖν Καισαρ ταθθ' οὕτως ώς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἔπραξεν, οἶστρος δέ τισιν ἀλιτηριώδης φθόνω τε τοῦ προήκοντος² καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετιμημένου σφῶν προσπεσῶν ἐκεινόν τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκτεινε, καινὸν ἀνοσίου δόξης ὄνομα προσλαβών, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε, 2 στάσεις τε αὖθις ἐξ ὁμονοίας καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν· ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ καθαιρέται τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐκείνω τε ἀσεβῶς ἐπεβούλευσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς

¹ μέρος τι Bs., μέχρι L.

² προήκοντος Leuncl.. προσήκοντος L.

BOOK XLIV

The following is contained in the Forty-fourth of Dio's Rome:—

About the decrees passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 1–11). About the conspiracy formed against him (chaps. 12–18). How Caesar was murdered (chaps. 19–22).

How a decree was passed that the people should not bear malice against one another (chaps. 23-34).

About the burnal of Caesar and the oration delivered over him (chaps. 35-53)

44 Duration of time, a part of the fifth dictatorship of Julius Caesar, held in company with Aemilius Lepidus as master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship, held with Mark Antony.

All this Caesar did as a preliminary step to his 1.6 44 campaign against the Parthians; but a baleful frenzy which fell upon certain men through jealousy of his advancement and hatred of his preferment to themselves caused his death unlawfully, while it added a new name to the annals of infamy; it scattered the decrees to the winds and brought upon the Romans seditions and civil wars once more after a state of harmony. His slayers, to be sure, declared that they had shown themselves at once destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people but in reality they impiously plotted against him, and they threw the city into disorder when at last it

2 ήδη πολιτευομένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατία γὰρ ονομα μεν εὐσχημον έχει καί τινα καὶ ἰσομοιρίαν πασιν έκ της ίσονομίας φέρειν δοκεί, έν δε δή τοις ἔργοις ἐλέγχεται μηδεν δμολογούσα τώ προσρήματι καὶ τουναντίον ή μοναρχία δυσχερές μεν ακούσαι, χρησιμώτατον δε εμπολιτεύσασθαι έστί. ραόν τε γαρ ένα τινα χρηστον ή πολλούς 2 εύρεῖν ἄν τε 1 καὶ τοῦτο χαλεπόν τισιν εἶναι δοκη, πάσα ἀνάγκη ε ἐκεῖνό γε ἀδύνατον ὁμολογηθηναι είναι οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ φαῦλός τις αὐταρχήσειεν, άλλὰ τοῦ γε 3 πλήθους τῶν ὁμοίων αίρετώτερός έστιν, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἔργα τά τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε 'Ρωμαίων αὐτῶν, 3 τεκμηριοί. τά τε γὰρ ἀμείνω πολύ μείζω καί πλείω και πόλεσι και ίδιώταις εκ βασιλέων η δήμων ἀεί ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταις μοναρχίαις ή ταις οχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει.4 εί γάρ που καὶ δημοκρατία τις ήνθησεν, άλλ' έν γε βραχεί χρόνφ ήκμασεν, μέχρις οδ μήτε μέγεθος μήτ' ίσχυν έσχον ώστε η ύβρεις σφίσιν έξ εὐπραγίας ἡ Φθόνους ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι 4 πόλιν δè 5 αὐτήν τε τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοῦ τε καλλίστου τοῦ τε πλείστου της έμφανοῦς οἰκουμένης ἄρχουσαν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἤθη καὶ διάφορα κεκτημένην πολλούς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους έγουσαν, ταίς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταίς

5 δέ Rk., τε L.

¹ τε Bk., γε L.

² πᾶσα ἀνάγκη R. Steph., πάσηι ἀνάγκηι L

γe H. Steph., τε L.

⁴ One or more words with the meaning "fewer" or "more rarely" have evidently been lost from the text.

BOOK XLIV

possessed a stable government. Democracy, indeed, B 0 44 has a fair-appearing name and conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all through equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. Monarchy, on the contrary, has an unpleasant sound, but is a most practical form of government to live under. For it is easier to find a single excellent man than many of them, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other alternative should be acknowledged to be impossible; for it does not belong to the majority of men to acquire virtue. And again, even though a base man should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to the masses of like character, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more frequent in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do [not] happen [so frequently] under monarchies as under mob-rule. Indeed, if ever there has been a prosperous democracy, it has in any case been at its best for only a brief period, so long, that is, as the people had neither the numbers nor the strength sufficient to cause insolence to spring up among them as the result of good fortune or jealousy as the result of ambition. But for a city, not only so large in itself, but also ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, holding sway over men of many and diverse natures, possessing many men of great wealth, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both

τύχαις παυτοδαπαίς καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία χρωμένην, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατία σωφρονήσαι,
ἀδυνατώτερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσαν ὁμονοήσαι.
ὅ ὅστ' εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτως ὅ τε Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος
καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐξελογίσαντο, οὐκ ἄν ποτε
τόν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπέκτειναν, οὐδ' ἄν μυρίων αἴτιοι κακῶν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο.

3 "Εσχε δὲ ὧδε, καὶ αἰτίαν τήνδε ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ έλαβεν ου γάρ δη και αναίτιον πάντη το έπίφθονον έκτήσατο, πλην καθ' δσον αὐτοὶ οί Βουλευταὶ ταις τε καινότησι καὶ ταις ύπερβολαις τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντές τε αὐτὸν καὶ φυσήσαντες έπειτα έπ' αὐταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἐμέμφοντο καὶ διέβαλλον ώς ήδέως τέ σφας λαμβάνοντα καὶ 2 ὀγκηρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε και ὁ Καισαρ ήμαρτε, δεξάμενός τέ τινα των Ψηφισθέντων οί και πιστεύσας οντως αὐτῶν άξιουσθαι, πλείστον δε όμως εκείνοι, οίτινες άρξάμενοι τιμαν αὐτὸν ώς καὶ ἄξιον, προήγαγον 3 ές αἰτίαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο. οὔτε ¹ γὰρ διωθέῖσθαι πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν νομισθείη, ούτ' αθ λαμβάνων ἀσφαλής είναι έδύνατο · 2 τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων χαυνοτέρους πως καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σώφρονας, άλλως τε³ καν άληθως γίγνεσθαι δοκωσι. ποιεί.

4 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ὅσα εἔρηται τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε· καθ' ἐν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα ἄμα μήτε ἐσηνέχθη μήτε ἐκυρώθη,

^{1.} ούτε Βk., οὐ L. ² ἐδύνατο St., ἡδύνατο L. ³ ἄλλως τε Rk., ὥστε L.

individually and collectively,-for such a city, I say, B.C 44 to practise moderation under a democracy is impossible, and still more is it impossible for the people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious Therefore, if Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had only reflected upon these things, they would never have killed the city's head and protector nor have made themselves the cause of countless ills both to themselves and to all the rest of mankind then

living.

It happened as follows, and his death was due to the cause now to be given. He had aroused dislike that was not altogether unjustified, except in so far as it was the senators themselves who had by their novel and excessive honours encouraged him and puffed him up, only to find fault with him on this very account and to spread slanderous reports how glad he was to accept them and how he behaved more haughtily as a result of them. It is true that Caesar did now and then err by accepting some of the honours voted him and believing that he really deserved them; yet those were most blameworthy who, after beginning to honour him as he deserved, led him on and brought blame upon him for the measures they had passed. He neither dared, of course, to thrust them all aside, for fear of being thought contemptuous, nor, again, could he be safe in accepting them; for excessive honour and praise render even the most modest men conceited, especially if they seem to be bestowed with sincerity.

The privileges that were granted him, in addition to all those mentioned, were as follows in number and nature; for I shall name them all together. even if they were not all proposed or passed at one

2 λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα φέρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτή τῆ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἐπι-νίκιον ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου πανταχή πλην έν ταις πανηγύρεσιν, έψηφίσαντο τότε γαρ έπί τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ Βάθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων θεᾶσθαι1 3 έλαβε. σκυλά τέ τινα όπιμα ές τὸν του Διὸς του Φερετρίου νεών ἀναθεῖναί οἱ ὥσπερ τινὰ πολέμιον αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρία πεφονευκότι,2 καὶ τοῖς ραβδούχοις δαφνηφοροθσιν ἀελ χρησθαι, μετά τε τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας ἐπὶ κέλητος 3 ἐς τὴν πόλιν 4 ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αλβανοῦ ἐσελαύνειν ἔδοσαν. πρός τε τούτοις τοιούτοις οὖσι πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος έπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τά τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσία θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ έν ταις πόλεσι τοις τε ναοις τοις έν τη 'Ρώμη 5 πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καἷ ἐπί γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας σεσωκότος του δε ώς την πόλιν εκ πολιορκίας έξηρημένου, μετά των στεφάνων των έπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νενομισμένων ίδρύσαντο. 'Ομονοίας καινής, ώς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ 4 εἰρηνοῦντες, οἰκοδομήσαι, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτή 5 ἐτησίαν ἄγειν 5 έγνωσαν. ώς δὲ ⁶ ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τά τε ἕλη οἱ τὰ Πομπτίνα 7 χώσαι καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι βουλευτήριον τέ τι καινον ποιησαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδη τὸ Ὁστίλιον καίπερ 2 ἀνοικοδομηθεν καθηρέθη, πρόφασιν μεν τοῦ ναὸν

¹ θεᾶσθαι Rk., θεάσασθαι L.

² πεφονευκότι Bk., ποι πεφονευκότι L

³ κέλητος Reim., κέλητα L.

 ⁴ αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L.
 5 αὐτῷ Leunel., αὐτὴν L.
 6 ὡς δὲ Βk., ἄστε L.
 7 Πομπτῖνα R. Steph., πομπινα L.

BOOK XLIV

time. First, then, they voted that he should always BC. 44 ride, even in the city itself, wearing the triumphal dress, and should sit in his chair of state everywhere except at the games; for at those he received the privilege of watching the contests from the tribunes' benches in company with those who were tribunes at the time. And they gave him the right to offer spolia opina, as they are called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he had slain some hostile general with his own hand. and to have lictors who always carried laurel, and after the Feuae Latinae to ride from the Alban Mount into the city on horseback. In addition to these remarkable privileges they named him father of his country, stamped this title on the coinage, voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice. ordered that he should have a statue in the cities and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two also on the rostra, one representing him as the saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements. They also resolved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the ground that it was through his efforts that they enjoyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus. and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished. The reason assigned for its destruction was that a

Εύτυχίας ἐνταῦθ' οἰκοδομηθήναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ίππαρχήσας έξεποίησεν, έργφ δε όπως μήτε έν έκείνω το του Σύλλου ονομα σώζοιτο και έτερον έκ καινής κατασκευασθέν Ιούλιον ονομασθείη, ώσπερ που καὶ τόν τε μηνα εν ω εγεγέννητο 1 'Ιούλιον κάκ τῶν Φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρω λα-3 χούσαν Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμητήν και μόνον και διά βίου είναι, τά τε τοις δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἄν τις ἡ έργφ ή και λόγφ αὐτὸν ὑβρίση,² ἱερός τε η ³ καὶ έν τῷ ἄγει ἐνέχηται, τὸν δὲ δὴ υίόν, ἄν τινα γεννήση ή καὶ ἐσποιήσηται, ἐσχιερέα ἀποδειχ-6 θηναι έψηφίσαντο. ώς δὲ καὶ τούτοις έχαιρε, δίφρος τέ οἱ ἐπίχρυσος, καὶ στολὴ ἡ πότε οἱ βασιλής ἐκέχρηντο, φρουρά τε ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδόθη καὶ προσέτι καὶ εύχεσθαι ύπερ αὐτοῦ δημοσία κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον, τήν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ, όμνύναι, καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια έξειν ἐνόμισαν. 2 κάκ τούτου καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὡς ἣρωι, ίεροποιούς τε ές τὰς τοῦ Πανὸς γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τινα έταιρίαν ην Ἰουλίαν ωνόμασαν, κάν ταις όπλομαχίαις μίαν τινα ἀεὶ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη 3 καὶ ἐν τῆ ἄλλη Ἰταλία ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτοις ηρέσκετο, ούτω δη ές τε τὰ θέατρα τόν τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι κἀν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις ὀχὸν⁶ ἐσάγεσ-

¹ έγεγέννητο R. Steph., έγεγένητο L. ² ὁβρίση R. Steph., ὑβρίσαι L ³ ή Reim., ἡ L.

⁴ ἐσποιήσηται Reim., ἐκποιήσηται L. 5 ωνόμασαν R. Steph., δνομάσαντες L.

⁶ ὀχὸν Casaub., ὅχλον L.

temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which B.C. 44 Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse; but their real purpose was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved on it, and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be named the Julian, even as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one of the tribes, selected by lot, the Julian. And they voted that Caesar should be sole censor for life and should enjoy the immunities granted to the tribunes, so that if any one insulted him by deed or word, that man should be an outlaw and accursed, and further that Caesar's son, should be beget or even adopt one, should be appointed high priest. As he seemed to like all this, a gilded chair was granted him, and a garb that the kings had once used, and a body-guard of knights and senators; furthermore they decided that prayers should be offered for him publicly every year, that they should swear by Caesar's Fortune, and should regard as valid all his future acts. Next they bestowed upon him a quadrennial festival, as to a hero, and a third priestly college. which they called the Julian, as overseers of the Lupercalia, and one special day of his own each time in connection with all gladiatorial combats both in Rome and the rest of Italy. When he showed himself pleased with these honours also, they accordingly voted that his golden chair and his crown set with precious gems and overlaid with gold should be carried into the theatres in the same manner as those of the gods, and that on the occasion of the games in the Circus his chariot should be brought in.

4 θαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τἢ τ¹¹ Ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν ᾿Αντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ Διάλιον

προχειρισάμενοι.

7 Καὶ ἄ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέφηνεν, ἄμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιήσασθαι ἔδοσαν· τά τε δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στήλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντές οἱ καὶ μάλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἴη.
2 ἤρξαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ μετριάσοντα.

- 2 ἤρξαντο μèν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ μετριάσοντα προχωροῦντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις ἑώρων (πλὴν γὰρ ὀλίγων τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο), ἀεί² τι μεῖζον ἄλλος ἄλλο καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐσέφερον, οἱ μèν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτὸν οἱ
- 3 δὲ καὶ διασκώπτοντες. ἀμέλει καὶ γυναιξὶν ὅσαις αν ἐθελήση ³ συνεῖναί οἱ ἐτόλμησάν τινες ἐπιτρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαῖς καὶ τότε ἔτι, καίπερ πεντηκοντούτης ὤν, ἐχρῆτο. ἔτεροι δέ, καὶ οἴ γε πλείους, ἔς τε τὸ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεσητὸν προάγειν αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ἵνα
- 4 θᾶσσον ἀπόληται. ὅπερ που ἐγένετο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαρσήσαντος ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοιαῦτά γε ψηφιζομένων οὔθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλευθησομένου, κἀκ τούτου οὐδὲ 4 σωματοφύλαξιν ἔτι χρησαμένου· τῷ γὰρ δὴ λόγω τὸ 5 πρός τε τῶν

⁵ τὸ Leuncl., τῶι L.

¹ τ' supplied by Reim. 2 åεl R Steph, ἀλλ' εἴ L

³ έθελήση Bk., θελήσηι L. 4 οὐδὲ Bk., δὲ L.

And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter BC. 44 Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some flamen Dialis.

At the same time with these measures they passed another which most clearly indicated their disposition: it gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed in golden letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a mortal. When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted,-indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees,-different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. At any rate, some actually ventured to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with as many women as he pleased, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and they were the majority, followed this course because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened, though Caesar was encouraged by these very measures to believe that he should never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honours, nor, through fear of them, by any one else; and consequently he even dispensed henceforth with a body-guard. For nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over

βουλευτών καὶ πρὸς τών ίππέων τηρεῖσθαι προσέμενος, ι και την έκ τοῦ πρίν φρουράν προσκατέλυ-8 σεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν μιᾶ ποτε ἡμέρα τά τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι (πλην γὰρ τοῦ Κασσίου καί τινων άλλων, οὶ περιβόητοι ἐπὶ τούτω εγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπαθόν τι, έξ οὖπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ή ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς γε άλλοις δμοθυμαδον έγνώσθη) προσήλθον αὐτῷ έν τῷ τοῦ ἀφροδισίου προνάφ καθημένφ ὡς καὶ πάντες αμα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγελοῦντες 2 (ἀπόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαστοὶ ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἐχρημάτιζον), καθήμενός ο σφας, εἴτ' οὖν θεοβλαβεία τινὶ εἴτε καὶ περιχαρεία, προσεδέξατο, καὶ ὀργὴν έκ τούτου πασιν, ούχ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς άλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλεν ὥστε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρόφασιν της έπιβουλης τοις αποκτεί-3 νασιν αὐτὸν παρασχείν. ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενοί τινες υπέρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι πῆς τε κοιλίας άκρατης ύπο διαρροίας έγεγόνει, καὶ διά τοῦτο, ίνα μη έξιδίση, κατέμεινεν οὐ μέντοι καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τὸ μετ' οὐ πολύ έξεγερθέντα αὐτὸν αὐτοποδία οἴκαδε κομισ-4 θηναι, άλλ' ύπετόπουν τε³ αὐτὸν ύπεραυχεῖν, καὶ δὴ ἐμίσουν 4 ὡς ὑπερήφανον ὃν αὐτοὶ ταῖς ύπερβολαίς των τιμών ύπέρφρονα ἐπεποιήκεσαν. τούτου δε δή τοιούτου γενομένου προσεπηύξησε την υποψίαν ότι και δικτάτωρ δια βίου μετά ταθτα ἀποδειχθεὶς ἡνέσχετο.

προσέμενος Bs., προέμενος L.
 καθήμενος Xiph., καθήμενοι L.

³ τε Pflugk, γε L. 4 δη εμίσουν Rk., διεμίσουν L.

BOOK XLIV

by the senators and knights, and so dismissed the B.G. 44 guard he had previously had. Indeed, when once they had voted to him on a single day an unusually large number of these honours of especial importance.which had been granted unanimously by all except Cassius and a few others, who became famous for this action, vet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's clemency was conspicuously revealed,-they then approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus in order to announce to him in a body their decisions; for they transacted such business in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it, not under compulsion, but voluntarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or even through excess of joy he received them sitting, which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slavers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried to defend him claimed, it is true, that owing to an attack of diarrhoea he could not control the movement of his bowels and so had remained where he was in order to avoid a flux. They were not able, however, to convince the majority, since not long afterwards he rose up and went home on foot; hence most men suspected him of being inflated with pride and hated him for his haughtiness, when it was they themselves who had made him disdainful by the exaggerated character of their honours. After this occurrence, striking as it was, he increased the suspicion by permitting himself somewhat later to be chosen dictator for life.

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Ένταθθα οθν αθτοθ όντος οθδεν έτι ενδοιαστώς οί ἐπιβουλεύοντές οἱ ἔπραττον, ἀλλ' ὅπως δὴ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐν μίσει γένηται, ἄλλα τε έπὶ διαβολή αὐτοῦ ἐποίουν καὶ τέλος βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευον, καὶ πολύ τοῦτο τούνομα 2 καὶ κατὰ σφας διεθρύλουν. ἐπειδή τε ἐξίστατο μèν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπετίμα πη τοῖς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπικαλοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπραξέ τι δι' οὖ αὐτὸν ἀχθεσθαι τῷ προσρήματι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιστεύθη, την εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ την ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος 3 έστωσαν διαδήματι λάθρα ἀνέδησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ Γαίου τε Ἐπιδίου Μαρύλλου καὶ Λουκίου Καισητίου Φλάουου δημάρχων καθελόντων ισχυρώς έχαλέπηνε, καίτοι μήτε τι ύβριστικον αὐτῶν είπόντων, και προσέτι και ἐπαινεσάντων αὐτὸν έν τῷ πλήθει ὡς μηδενὸς τοιούτου δεόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν καίπερ ἀσχάλλων ἡσύχασεν 10 ώς μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσιππεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αλβανοῦ βασιλέα αὖθίς τινες ἀνόμασαν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ καλείσθαι, οι δε δη δήμαρχοι εκείνοι καί δίκην τῷ πρώτῳ αὐτὸν εἶπόντι ἔλαχον, οὐκέτι τὴν ὀργὴν κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ὑπ' ι αὐτῶν έκείνων προσστασιαζόμενος 2 ύπερηγανάκτησε. 2 καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν, ὕστερον δέ σφων προγραφὴν⁸ ἐκθέντων ὡς οὔτε ἐλευθέραν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινού παρρησίαν έχόντων περιοργής έγένετο, καὶ παραγαγών σφας ές τὸ βουλευτήριον κατη-

¹ ὑπ' R. Steph., ἀπ' L cod. Peir.

² προσστασιαζόμενος Reim., προστασιαζόμενος L cod. Peir.

³ προγραφήν R. Steph., προσγραφήν L.

BOOK XLIV

When he had reached this point, the men who B.C. 44 were plotting against him hesitated no longer, but in order to embitter even his best friends against him, they did their best to traduce him, finally saluting him as king, a name which they often used also among themselves. When he kept refusing the title and rebuking in a way those who thus accosted him, yet did nothing by which it could be thought that he was really displeased at it, they secretly adorned his statue, which stood on the rostia, with a diadem. And when the tribunes, Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus, took it down, he became violently angry, although they uttered no word of abuse and moreover actually praised him before the populace as not wanting anything of the sort. For the time being, though vexed, he held his peace. Subsequently, however, when he was riding in from the Alban Mount and some men again called him king, he said that his name was not king but Caesar: but when the same tribunes brought suit against the first man who had termed him king, he no longer restrained his wrath but showed great irritation, as if these very officials were really stirring up sedition against him. And though for the moment he did them no harm, yet later, when they issued a proclamation declaring that they were unable to speak their mind freely and safely on behalf of the public good, he became exceedingly angry and brought them into the senate-house, where he

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γορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήγαγε. 3 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὐτούς, καίτοι καὶ τούτου τινῶν τιμησάντων σφίσι, προαπαλλάξας δὲ ἐκ τῆς δημαρχίας διὰ Ἑλουίου Κίννου συνάρχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπήλειψεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρόν τε ἐπὶ τούτῷ, ἢ καὶ ἐπλάττοντο, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἔξοντες παρρησιαζόμενοι κινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντες τὰ 4 γιγνόμενα ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ¹ καθεώρων ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου διεβλήθη, ὅτι δέον αὐτὸν τοὺς τὸ ὄνομά οἱ τὸ ² βασιλέως προστιθέντας μισεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ἀφεὶς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐνεκάλει.

Τούτων δ' οὖν οὕτω γενομένων τοιόνδε τι 11 έτερον, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν συνενεχθέν, ἐπὶ πλέον εξήλεγξεν ὅτι λόγω μεν διεκρούετο τὴν ἐπίκλησιν, 2 ἔργφ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμει. ἐπειδή γὰρ ἐν τῆ τῶν Λυκαίων γυμνοπαιδία ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν³ έσηλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῆ τε ἐσθητι τῆ βασιλική κεκοσμημένος καὶ τῷ στεφάνω τῷ διαχρύσφ λαμπρυνόμενος ές ⁴ τον δίφρον τον κεχρυσωμένον ἐκαθίζετο, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αντώνιος βάσιλέα τε μετά τῶν συνιερέων προσηγόρευσε καὶ διαδήματι ἀνέδησεν, εἰπών ὅτι "τοῦτό σοι ὁ 3 δήμος δι' έμου δίδωσιν," ἀπεκρίνατο μεν ὅτι "Ζευς⁵ μόνος των 'Ρωμαίων βασιλεύς είη," και το διάδημα αὐτῶ 6 ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔπεμψεν, οὐ μέντοι και ὀργὴν ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ και ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα έγγραφηναι έποίησεν ότι την βασιλείαν παρά

¹ σκοπιᾶs Hemsterhuis, σκιᾶs L.

 ³ ἀγυρὰν Χyl., βασιλείαν L.
 ⁵ Zebs supplied by R. Steph.

zees supplied by 11. Deepli.

² τὸ Bk , τοῦ L.

 ⁴ ès Bs., καὶ L.
 6 αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτὸ L.

accused them and put their conduct to the vote. He B.C. 44 did not put them to death, though some declared them worthy even of that penalty, but he first removed them from the tribuneship, on the motion of Helvius Cinna, their colleague, and then erased their names from the senate. Some were pleased at this, or pretended to be, thinking they would have no need to incur danger by speaking out freely, and since they were not themselves involved in the business, they could view events as from a watch tower. Caesar, however, received an ill name from this fact also, that, whereas he should have hated those who applied to him the name of king, he let them go and found fault with the tribunes instead.

Another thing that happened not long after these events proved still more clearly that, although he pretended to shun the title, in reality he desired to assume it. For when he had entered the Forum at the festival of the Lupercalia and was sitting on the rostra in his gilded chair, adorned with the royal apparel and resplendent in his crown overlaid with gold, Antony with his fellow-priests saluted him as king and binding a diadem upon his head, said: "The people offer this to you through me." And Caesar answered: "Jupiter alone is king of the Romans," and sent the diadem to Jupiter on the Capitol; yet he was not angry, but caused it to be inscribed in the records that he had refused to accept the kingship when offered to him by the

τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου διδομένην οἱ οὐκ έδέξατο. ὑπωπτεύθη τε οὖν ἐκ συγκειμένου τινὸς αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ ὀνόματος, βούλεσθαι δὲ ἐκβιασθήναί πως λαβεῖν αὐτό, 4 και δεινώς εμισήθη, κάκ τούτου τούς τε δημάρχους ἐκείνους ὑπάτους τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις προεβάλουτο, καὶ τὸυ Βροῦτου Μᾶρκον τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς φρονηματώδεις ἰδίᾳ τε προσιόντες ανέπειθον καὶ δημοσία προσπαρω-12 ξυνον. γράμματά τε γάρ, τη δμωνυμία αὐτοῦ τη πρὸς τὸν πάνυ Βροῦτον τὸν τοὺς Ταρκυνίους 1 καταλύσαντα καταχρώμενοι, πολλά έξετίθεσαν, φημίζοντες αὐτὸν ψευδώς ἀπόγονον ἐκείνου είναι. άμφοτέρους γάρ τούς παίδας, τούς μόνους οί γενομένους, μειράκια έτι όντας απέκτεινε, καὶ 2 οὐδὲ ἔγγονον ὑπελίπετο.2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτό τε οί πολλοί, ὅπως ώς καὶ γένει προσήκων ³ αὐτῷ ές 4 ομοιότροπα έργα προαχθείη, ἐπλάττοντο, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν αὐτόν, "δ Βροῦτε Βροῦτε" έκβοῶντες, καὶ προσεπιλέγοντες ὅτι "Βρούτου 3 χρήζομεν." καὶ τέλος τῆ τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ Βρούτου εἰκόνι ἐπέγραψαν "εἴθε ἔζης," καὶ τῷ τούτου βήματι (ἐστρατήγει γὰρ καὶ βήμα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο ονομάζεται εφ' οῦ τις ίζομενος δικάζει) ὅτι " καθεύδεις, & Βρουτε" καὶ "Βρουτος οὐκ εἶ."

13 Ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀντιπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καίπερ εὐεργέτη μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένω,

¹ Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυινίους L.

 ² ὑπελίπετο R. Steph., ὑπελείπετο L.
 ³ προσήκων Leunel., προσήκον L.

⁴ és R. Steph., &s και L.

people through the consul. It was accordingly sus- B.C. 44 pected that this thing had been deliberately arranged and that he was anxious for the name, but wished to be somehow compelled to take it: consequently the hatred against him was intense. After this certain men at the elections proposed for consuls the tribunes previously mentioned, and they not only privately approached Marcus Brutus and such other persons as were proud-spirited and attempted to persuade them, but also tried to incite them to action publicly. Making the most of his having the same name as the great Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins, they scattered broadcast many pamphlets, declaring that he was not truly that man's descendant; for the older Brutus had put to death both his sons, the only ones he had, when they were mere lads, and left no offspring whatever. Nevertheless, the majority pretended to accept such a relationship, in order that Brutus, as a kinsman of that famous man, might be induced to perform deeds as great. They kept continually calling upon him, shouting out "Brutus, Brutus!" and adding further "We need a Brutus." Finally on the statue of the early Brutus they wrote "Would that thou wert living!" and upon the tribunal of the living Brutus (for he was practor at the time and this is the name given to the seat on which the practor sits in judgment) "Brutus, thou sleepest," and "Thou art not Brutus."

Now these were the influences that persuaded Brutus to attack Caesar, whom he had opposed from the beginning in any case, although he had later accepted benefits from him. He was also influenced

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καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Οὐτικησίου κληθέντος, ώσπερ είπου, και άδελφιδούς και γαμβρός ήν. καὶ μόνη γε γυναικῶν ή γαμετή αὐτοῦ ή Πορκία 2 την ἐπιβουλήν, ως φασι, συνέγνω. φροντίζοντι γάρ τι αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστᾶσα άνεπύθετο ὅ τι σύννους εἴη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν άπεκρίνατο, ὑπώπτευσέ τε διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεῖσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἄκουσά τι ἐκ βασάνων έξείπη, καὶ πρᾶγμα μέγα ἐτόλμησε. 3 τὸν γὰρ μηρὸν τὸν ἐαυτῆς κρύφα κατέτρωσεν, ὅπως πειραθείη εἰ δύναιτο πρὸς αἰκισμοὺς ἀντικαρτερῆσαι καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ περιήλγησε, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ τραύματος καὶ προσελθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἔφη "σὸ μέν, ὡ ἄνερ, καίτοι τῆ ψυχῆ μου πιστεύων ότι οὐδὲν ἐκλαλήσει, ὅμως ἡπίστεις τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἔπασχές γέ τι ἀνθρώπινον ἐγὼ 4 δε και τούτο εύρηκα σιωπάν δυνάμενον." ταύτα είπουσα τόν τε μηρον ἐπέδειξέν οί, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐκφήνασα ἔφη "λέγε τοίνυν θαρσῶν πάνθ' ὅσα συγκρύπτεις ἐμὲ γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ μάστιγες, οὐ κέντρα ἀναγκάσει τι ἐκλαλῆσαι ούχ ούτω γυνη γεγένημαι. ώς, ἄν γε ἀπιστήσης μοι ἔτι, καλῶς ἔχει μοι 1 τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν. η μηκέτι με μηδείς μήτε Κάτωνος θυγατέρα μήτε 14 σην γυναικα νομιζέτω." ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Βρούτος έθαύμασε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' αὐτὴν ἀπεκρύψατο, άλλα αὐτός τε ἐπὶ μαλλον ἐρρώσθη καὶ 2 εκείνη πάντα διηγήσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Γάϊον, σωθέντα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος και προσέτι και στρατηγία τιμηθέντα, της δε άδελφης άνδρα όντα, προσέλαβε. κάκ τού-

1 έχει μοι R. Steph., έχοιμι L. 2 δè Bk., τε L.

by the fact that he was both nephew and son-in- B.C. 44 law of that Cato who was called Uticensis, as I have stated. And his wife Portia was the only woman, as they say, who was privy to the plot. For she came upon him while he was pondering over these very matters and asked him why he was so thoughtful. When he made no answer, she suspected that she was distrusted on account of her physical weakness, for fear she might reveal something, however unwillingly, under torture; hence she ventured to do a noteworthy deed. She secretly inflicted a wound upon her own thigh, to test herself and see if she could endure torture. And as soon as the first intense pain was past, she despised the wound, and coming to him, said. "You, my husband, though you trusted my spirit that it would not betray you, nevertheless were distrustful of my body, and your feeling was but human. But I have found that my body also can keep silence." With these words she disclosed her thigh, and making known the reason for what she had done, she said: "Therefore fear not, but tell me all you are concealing from me, for neither fire, nor lashes, nor goads will force me to divulge a word; I was not born to that extent a woman. Hence, if you still distrust me, it is better for me to die than to live; otherwise let no one think me longer the daughter of Cato or your wife." Hearing this, Brutus marvelled; and he no longer hid anything from her, but felt strengthened himself and related to her the whole plot. After this he obtained as an associate Gaius Cassius, who had also been spared by Caesar and moreover had been honoured with the praetorship; and he was the husband of Brutus' sister. Next they pro-

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του καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτά σφισι βουλομέ-3 νους ήθροιζον. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι καταλέγειν, ίνα μή και δι' όχλου γένωμαι, τὸν δὲ δη Τρεβώνιον τόν τε Βροῦτον τον Δέκιμον, δν καλ 'Ιούνιον 'Αλβινόν τε ἐπεκάλουν, οὐ δύναμαι 4 παραλιπείν. πλείστα γάρ και ούτοι εὐεργετηθέντες ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ δ γε Δέκιμος ι καὶ ύπατος ές τὸ δεύτερον έτος ἀποδεδειγμένος καὶ τῆ πλησιοχώρω προστεταγμένος, Γαλατία έπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὀλίγου γε ἐφωράθησαν ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους των συνειδότων, καίτοι του Καίσαρος μήτε λόγον τινά περί τοιούτου τινός προσδεχομένου και πάνυ *ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς ἐσαγγέλλοντάς τι τοιουτότροπον* 2 κολάζουτος, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμέλλειν. αἰδῶ τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ 2 καὶ ὡς ἔχοντες, καὶ φοβούμενοι, καίπερ μηδεμιᾶ ἔτι φρουρᾶ χρωμένου, μη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεί ποτε ὄνεων

καιπερ μηθεμιά επι φρουρά χρωμενου, μη και υπο τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεί ποτε ὅνεων φθαρῶσι, διῆγον, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ἐλεγχθέν
3 τες ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ἔπαθον ἃν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ συνταχῦναι τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ ἄκοντες ἡναγκάσθησαν. λόγου γάρ τινος, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθοῦς εἴτε καὶ ψευδοῦς, οἶά που φιλεῖ λογοποιεῖσθαι, διελθόντος ὡς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένων διαθροούντων ὅτι ἡ Σίβυλλα εἰρηκυῖα εἴη μήποτ' ἂν τοὺς Πάρθους ἄλλως πως πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως άλῶναι, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι

δοθήναι ἐσηγήσεσθαι, τοῦτό τε πιστεύσαντες
¹ Δέκιμον, Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιον, δέκιος L (and so in ch. 18).
² αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὖ που L.

ceeded to get together all the others who were of BLC. 44 the same mind as themselves and these proved to be not a few in number. There is no need to give a full list of the names, for I might thus become wearisome, but I cannot omit to mention Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who was also called Junius and Albinus. For these joined in the plot against Caesar, notwithstanding that they also had received many benefits at his hands; Decimus, in fact, had been appointed consul for the next year and had been assigned to Hither Gaul.

They came very near being detected for two reasons. One was the number of those who were privy to the plot, although Caesar would not receive any information about anything of the sort and punished very severely those who brought any news of the kind. The second reason was their delay; for they stood in awe of him, for all their hatred of him, and kept putting the matter off, fearing, in spite of the fact that he no longer had any guard. that they might be killed by some of the men who were always with him; and thus they ran the risk of being discovered and put to death. Indeed, they would have suffered this fate had they not been forced even against their will to hasten the plot. For a report, whether true or false, got abroad, as reports will spread, that the priests known as the Quindecimviri were spreading the report that the Sibyl had said the Parthians would never be defeated in any other way than by a king, and were consequently

going to propose that this title be granted to Caesar. The conspirators believed this to be true, and

άληθες εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὧνπερ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, ἡ ψῆφος ἄτε καὶ ὑπερ τηλικούτου βουλεύματος ἐπαχθήσοιτο, καὶ οὕτ ἀντειπεῖν τολμῶντες ¹ οὔτε σιωπῆσαι ὑπομένοντες, ἐπέσπευσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρὶν καὶ ὑπομένοντες, ἐπέσπευσαν τὰ διαστάσει καὶ καὶ ἐποροῦνος ἐπεροῦνος ἐπ

ότιοῦν περί αὐτοῦ χρηματισθῆναι.

'Εδέδοκτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίφ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι. τόν τε γὰρ Καίσαρα ἥκιστα ένταθθα ύποτοποθντά τι πείσεσθαι εὐαλωτότερον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν εὐπορίαν ἀσφαλῆ ξιφῶν ἐν κιβωτίοις άντι γραμματείων τινών έσκομισθέντων ύπάρξειν, τους τε άλλους οὐ δυνήσεσθαι,2 οξά 2 που και ἀόπλους ὄντας, ἀμῦναι προσεδόκων εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ τολμήσειέ που, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε μονομάχους, οθς πολλούς έν τῷ Πομπηίου ³ θεάτρω, πρόφασιν ώς καὶ ὁπλομαχήσοντας, προπαρεσκευάσαντο, βοηθήσειν σφίσιν ήλπιζον έκει γάρ που ἐν οἰκήματί τινι τοῦ περιστώου συνεδρεύειν έμελλον. καὶ οἱ μέν, ἐπειδή ή κυρία ῆκεν, ἔς πε τὸ βουλευτήριον άμα έφ τουνελέγησαν καὶ τὸν 17 Καίσαρα παρεκάλουν εκείνω δε προέλεγον μεν καί μάντεις την επιβουλήν, προέλεγε δε και ονείρατα. έν γὰρ τῆ νυκτὶ ἐν ἡ ἐσφάγη ή τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τήν τε οἰκίαν σφῶν συμπεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν άνδρα συντετρώσθαί τε ύπό τινων καὶ ές τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς καταφυγεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ έπί τε τῶν νεφῶν μετέωρος αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς 2 του Διὸς χειρὸς ἄπτεσθαι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ σημεία οὐτ' ολίγα οὐτ' ἀσθενή αὐτῶ ἐγένετο τά

δυνήσεσθαι R. Steph., δυνηθήσεσθαι L.
 Πομπηίου H. Steph., πομπηίφ L.
 ξφ Rk., ώs L.

¹ τολμῶντες R. Steph., τολμῶντος L.

because a vote would be demanded of the magistrates, BC, 44 among whom were Brutus and Cassius, owing to the importance of the measure, and they neither dared to oppose it nor would submit to remain silent, they hastened forward their plot before any business connected with the measure should come up.

It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would thus fall an easier victim, while they would find a safe opportunity by having swords instead of documents brought into the chamber in boxes, and the rest, being unarmed, would not be able to offer any resistance. But in case any one should be so rash, they hoped at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompey's Theatre under the pretext that they were to contend there, would come to their aid; for these were to lie in wait somewhere there in a certain room of the peristyle. So the conspirators, when the appointed day was come, gathered in the senate-house at dawn and called for Caesar. As for him, he was warned of the plot in advance by soothsayers, and was warned also by dreams. For the night before he was slain his wife dreamed that their house had fallen in ruins and that her husband had been wounded by some men and had taken refuge in her bosom; and Caesar dreamed he was raised aloft upon the clouds and grasped the hand of Jupiter. Moreover, omens not a few and not without significance

came to him: the arms of Mars, at that time de- B C II posited in his house, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his position as high priest, made a great noise at night, and the doors of the chamber where he slept opened of their own accord. Moreover, the sacrifices which he offered because of these occurrences were not at all favourable, and the birds he used in divination forbade him to leave the house. Indeed, to some the incident of his golden chair seemed ominous, at least after his murder; for the attendant, when Caesar delayed his coming, had carried it out of the senate, thinking that there now would be no need of it.

Caesar, accordingly, was so long in coming that the conspirators feared there might be a postponement,-indeed, a rumour got abroad that he would remain at home that day,—and that their plot would thus fall through and they themselves would be detected. Therefore they sent Decimus Brutus, as one supposed to be his devoted friend, to secure his attendance. This man made light of Caesar's scruples and by stating that the senate desired exceedingly to see him, persuaded him to proceed. At this an image of him, which he had set up in the vestibule, fell of its own accord and was shattered in pieces. But, since it was fated that he should die at that time, he not only paid no attention to this but would not even listen to some one who was offering him information of the plot. He received from him a little roll in which all the preparations made for the attack were accurately recorded, but did not read it, thinking it contained some indifferent matter of no pressing importance. In brief, he was so confident

καὶ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν τὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαί ποτε αὐτῷ προαγορεύσαντα εἰπεῖν ἐπισκώπτων "ποῦ δῆτά σου τὰ μαντεύματα; ἢ οὐχ ὁρῷς ὅτι τε ἡ ἡμέρα ἢν ἐδεδίεις πάρεστι, καὶ ἐγὰ ζῷ;" καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον, ὡς φασι, μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι "ναὶ πάρεστιν, οὐδέπω δὲ παρελήλυθεν."

Ως δ' οὖν ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον, Τρεβώνιος μεν 'Αντώνιον έξω που ἀποδιέτριψεν. έβουλεύσαντο μέν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τόν τε Λέπιδον 2 ἀποκτείναι φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπολομένων διαβληθῶσιν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δυναστεία άλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως, $<math>\hat{\eta}\nu^2$ προεβάλλοντο, τὸν Καίσαρα πεφονευκότες, οὐδὲ παρείναι τὸν 'Αντώνιον τῆ σφαγῆ αὐτοῦ ἡθέλησαν, έπει ο γε Λέπιδος έξεστράτευτο και έν τώ 3 προαστείφ ην. ἐκείνφ μὲν δὴ Τρεβώνιος διελέγετο οί δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τούτω ἀθρόοι περιστάντες (εὐπρόσοδός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσήγορος έν τοις μάλιστα ήν) οι μεν έμυθολόγουν, οί δε ίκετευον δήθεν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἥκιστά τι ὑποπ-4 τεύση, ἐπεί τε ὁ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προσῆλθέ τις αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ χάριν τινὰ γιγνώσκων, καὶ τὸ ίματιον αὐτοῦ ἀπό τοῦ ὤμου καθείλκυσε, σημεῖόν τι³ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τοῖς συνωμόταις αίρων κάκ τούτου προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ ἐκείνοι 5 πολλαχόθεν ἄμα κατέτρωσαν αὐτόν, ὅσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτε πρᾶξαί τι τον Καίσαρα δυνηθήναι, άλλα συγκαλυψάμενον σφαγήναι πολλοίς τραύμασι. ταθτα μέν τάληθέσ-

¹ val Xiph., kal L. ² $\hat{\eta} \nu$ supplied by R. Steph. $\hat{\tau} \iota$ H. Steph., $\tau \epsilon$ L.

that to the soothsayer who had once warned him to B.C. 41 beware of that day he jestingly remarked: "Where are your prophecies now? Do you not see that the day which you feared is at hand and that I am alive?" And the other, they say, answered merely: "Yes, but is not yet past."

Now when he finally reached the senate, Trebonius kept Antony employed somewhere at a distance outside. For, though they had planned to kill both him and Lepidus, they feared they might be maligned as a result of the number they destroyed, on the ground that they had slain Caesar to gain supreme power and not to set free the city, as they pretended; and therefore they did not wish Antony even to be present at the slaving. As for Lepidus, he had set out on a campaign and was in the While Trebonius, then, talked with Antony, the rest in a body surrounded Caesar. who was as easy of access and as affable as any one could be; and some conversed with him, while others made as if to present petitions to him, so that suspicion might be as far from his mind as possible. And when the right moment came, one of them approached him, as if to express his thanks for some favour or other, and pulled his toga from his shoulder, thus giving the signal that had been agreed upon by the conspirators. Thereupon they attacked him from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face, was slain

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τατα· ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἰσχυρῶς ¹ πατάξαντα ² ἔφη "καὶ σύ, τέκνον;"

20 Θορύβου δ' οὖν πολλοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ τῶν 8 ἔξωθεν προσεστηκότων πρός τε τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὅτι ἡγνόουν τούς τε σφαγέας καὶ τὸ πληθος τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, γενομένου πάντες ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύσοντες 2 ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν ή έκαστος εδύνατο, καὶ τοὺς προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν έξέπλησσον, σαφές μέν οὐδεν λέγοντες, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μόνον βοῶντες, "φεῦγε, κλεῖε, 3 κλείε." καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρ' άλλήλων ώς έκαστος διεβόων, και τήν τε πόλιν θρήνων ἐπλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔς τε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καίτοι των σφαγέων ές τε την άγοραν ωσπερ είχον δρμησάντων, και τοις τε σχήμασιν ενδεικνυμένων καὶ προσεκβοώντων μη φοβείσθαι. 4 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τοῦτό τε ἄμα ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν, ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος οὔτ' ἄλλως 5 ἐπίστευέ σφισιν ἀληθεύειν οὖτε ῥαδίως καθίστατο όψε δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ μόλις, ὡς οὔτε τις έφονεύετο οὔτε συνελαμβάνετο, θαρσήσαντες 21 ήσύχασαν. καὶ συνελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν πολλά μεν κατά τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλά δε καὶ ὑπερ της δημοκρατίας οἱ σφαγεῖς εἶπον, θαρσεῖν τέ σφας καὶ μηδεν δεινον προσδέχεσθαι εκέλευον

Ισχυρῶs Xiph., τὸν Ισχυρῶs L.
 πατάξαντα Xiph., παρατάξαντα L

τῶν supplied by R. Steph.
 διεβόων R. Steph., διαβοῶν L.

⁵ ουτ' άλλως Pflugk, οὐδ' άλλως L.

with many wounds. This is the truest account, B.C. 44 though some have added that to Brutus, when he struck him a powerful blow, he said: "Thou, too, my son?"

A great outcry naturally arose from all the rest who were inside and also from those who were standing near by outside, both at the suddenness of the calamity and because they did not know who the assassins were, their numbers, or their purpose; and all were excited, believing themselves in danger. So they not only turned to flight themselves, every man as best he could, but they also alarmed those who met them by saying nothing intelligible, but merely shouting out the words: "Run! bolt doors! bolt doors!" Then all the rest, severally taking up the cry one from another, kept shouting these words, filled the city with lamentations, and burst into the workshops and houses to hide themselves, even though the assassins hurried just as they were to the Forum, urging them both by their gestures and their shouts not to be afraid. Indeed, while they were telling them this, they kept calling for Cicero; but the crowd did not believe in any case that they were sincere, and was not easily calmed. At length, however, and with difficulty, they took courage and became quiet, as no one was killed or arrested. And when they met in the assembly, the assassins had much to say against Caesar and much in favour of democracy, and they bade the people take courage and not expect any harm. For they

οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ δυναστεία οὔτ' ἐπ' ἄλλη πλεονεξία οὖδεμιᾶ ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι ὄντες ὀρθῶς πολιτεύωνται. 2 τοιαθτα άττα εἰπόντες τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς κατέστησαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οὐδένα ἠδίκουν αὐτοὶ δὲ δη φοβούμενοι καὶ ὡς μή τις σφίσιν ἀντεπιβου-λεύση, ἀνηλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ τοῖς θεοίς προσευξόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τήν τε ἡμέραν καὶ 3 τὴν νύκτα ἐνδιέτριψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινές των πρώτων ἀφ' έσπέρας, της μεν επιβουλης οὐ συμμετασχόντες, της δὲ ἀπ' αὐτης δόξης, ὡς καὶ ἐπαινουμένους σφας ἐώρων, καὶ τῶν ἄθλων ἃ 4 προσεδέχοντο μεταποιησόμενοι, συνεγένοντο. καὶ συνέβη γε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὐναντίον τὸ πρᾶγμα δικαιότατα περιστήναι· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἔργου άτε μηδεν αὐτοῦ προσκοινωνήσαντες έλαβον, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ τοῖς δράσασιν αὐτὸ συμβάντος ώς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύσαντές 2 σφισι μετέσχον. 'Ιδων δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δολοβέλλας οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠξέου

τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν καίπερ μηδέπω οἱ προσήκουσαν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ δημηγορήσας τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη. τούτων δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὄντων, ὁ Λέπιδος μαθὼν τὰ γεγενημένα τήν τε ἀγορὰν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τῶν σφαγέων ἄμα ἔω ἐδημηγόρει. ὁ οὖν 'Αντώνιος, καίτοι παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον φυγὼν καὶ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀρχικήν, ὅπως διαλάθη, ῥίψας καὶ τὴν νύκτα 3 κρυφθείς, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τούς τε σφαγέας ἐν τῶ

¹ μεταποιησόμενοι Η. Steph., μεταποιησάμενοι L. 2 συνεπιβουλεύσαντές Leunel., ἐπιβουλεύσαντές L.

had killed him, they declared, not to secure power BC. 44 or any other advantage, but in order that they might be free and independent and be governed rightly. By speaking such words they calmed the majority, especially since they injured no one. But fearing, for all that, that somebody might plot against them in turn, they themselves went up to the Capitol, in order, as they claimed, to pray to the gods, and there they spent the day and night. And at evening they were joined by some of the other prominent men, who had not, indeed, shared in the plot, but were minded, when they saw the perpetrators praised, to lay claim to the glory of it, as well as to the prizes which they expected. But for them the event proved most justly the very opposite of their expectations; for they did not secure any reputation for the deed, because they had not had a hand in it in any way, but they did share the danger which came to those who committed it just as much as if they themselves had been in the plot.

Seeing this, Dolabella likewise thought it incumbent on him not to keep quiet, but entered upon the office of consul, even though it did not yet belong to him, and after making a short speech to the people on the situation ascended to the Capitol. While affairs were in this state Lepidus, learning what had taken place, occupied the Forum by night with his soldiers and at dawn delivered a speech against the assassins. As to Antony, although he had fled immediately after Caesar's death, casting away his robe of office in order to escape notice and concealing himself through the night, yet when he ascertained that the assassins were on the Capitol

Καπιτωλίφ καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾶ ὄντα ήσθετο, τήν τε γερουσίαν ές τὸ τής Γής τέμενος ήθροισε καὶ γνώμας ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων προέ- $\theta_{n\kappa\epsilon,1}$ καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα, ώς ἕκαστος αὖτῶν ἐγίγνωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τάδε, οἶσπερ καὶ

23

ἐπείσθησαν. " 'Αεὶ μὲν ἔγωγε οἶμαι χρῆναι μηδένα μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς 2 χάριν μήτε πρὸς φιλονεικίαν λέγειν, άλλ' δ βέλτιστον εκαστος είναι νομίζει, τοῦτ' 2 ἀποφαίνεσθαι. δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοῦντας τούς θ' ὑπατεύοντας πάντα ἀπὸ ὀρθής τής διανοίας ποιείν ἀξιώσομεν, κἂν ἄρα πως σφαλώσιν, εὐθύνας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπαιτήσομεν, εν δε δη τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, εν ῷ κυριώτατοι τής ήμετέρας αὐτῶν γνώμης ἐσμέν, τὰ κοινή συμφέροντα τῶν ἰδίων ἔνεκα πλεονεξιῶν προησό-3 μεθα. ἀεὶ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα, ὧ πατέρες, πάντα άπλως και δικαίως ήγουμαι δείν ήμας συμβουλεύειν υμίν, μάλιστα δε εν τοίς παρούσι πρέχμασιν, έν οίς αν μεν 4 μηδεν 5 πολυπραγμονή-σαντες δμονοήσωμεν, αὐτοί τε σωθησόμεθα καὶ 4 τους άλλους άπαντας περιποιήσομεν, αν δ' άκριβώς πάντα έξετάσαι έθελήσωμεν, δέδοικα μή κακῶς—δυσχερὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων 24 είπειν βούλομαι. πρότερον μέν γάρ, οὐκ ὀλίγος έξ οὖ χρόνος, οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες καὶ τῆς πολιτείας εγκρατείς ώς το πολύ εγίγνοντο, ώστ' αὐτοὺς ὅ τι δεῖ βουλεύειν ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀλλ'

¹ προέθηκε Reim., προτέθεικε L.

² μηδέν μήτε πρός Reim., μηδενός μήτε πρός Rk., μηδενός L.

³ σφαλώσιν R. Steph., σφάλλωσιν L.

⁴ μèν added by Bk. ⁵ μηδèν R. Steph., μηδè €ν L.

⁶ ἄπαντας Rk., ἄκοντας L.

and Lepidus in the Forum, he assembled the senate B.C.44 in the precinct of Tellus and brought forward the business of the hour for deliberation. When some had said one thing and some another, according to what was in their thoughts, Cicero, whose advice they actually followed, spoke to this effect:

"No one ought ever, I think, to say anything either out of favour or out of spite, but every one ought to declare what he believes to be best. We demand that those serving as praetors or consuls shall do everything from upright motives, and if they make any errors, we demand an accounting from them even for their misfortune; how absurd, then, if in discussion, where we are complete masters of our own opinion, we shall sacrifice the general welfare to our private interests! For this reason, Conscript Fathers, I have always thought that we ought to advise you with sincerity and justice on all matters, but especially in the present circumstances, when, if without being over-inquisitive we come to an agreement, we shall both be preserved ourselves and enable all the rest to survive, whereas, if we wish to inquire into everything minutely, I fear that ill—but at the very opening of my remarks I do not wish to say anything that might offend. Formerly, not very long ago, those who had the arms usually also got control of the government and consequently issued orders to you as to the subjects on which you were to deliberate, instead of your

ούχ ύμας ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἐκείνους προσκοπεῖν· 2 νῦν δ' ἐς τοῦτο καιροῦ πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ πράγματα πάρεστιν ώστε έφ' ύμιν 1 τε αὐτὰ είναι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ¹ ἀνακεῖσθαί, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ¹ ἤτοι την δμόνοιαν καὶ μετά ταύτης την έλευθερίαν, ή στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους αὖθις καὶ 3 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην λαβεῖν. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τήμερον ψηφίσησθε, τούτω και οι άλλοι πάντες ακολουθήσουσι.2 τούτων οὖν οὕτως, ώς έμαυτον πείθω, έχόντων φημὶ δεῖν ήμᾶς τὰς μεν προς άλλήλους έχθρας ή φιλονεικίας, όπως ἄν τις αὐτὰς ὀνομάση, καταλύσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην καὶ 4 φιλίαν καὶ δμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντας τοῦτό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅτι τέως μὲν ἐκείνως ἐπολιτευόμεθα, καὶ χώρας καὶ πλούτους καὶ δόξαν καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀφ' οδ δὲ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακὰ προήχθημεν, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀμείνους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ χείρους ἐγενόμεθα. 5 καὶ ἔγωγε τοσούτου 3 δέω νομίζειν 4 ἄλλο τι σῶσαι αν ἐν ὁ τῷ παρόντι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' αν μή τι τήμερον καὶ ήδη γε ὅτι τάχιστα προβουλεύσωμεν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν δυνησόμεθα.

5 "Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρός τε τὰ παρόντα ἀπιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀναλογισάμενοι. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ ὅτι διαιρεῖταί τε καὶ περισπᾶται ὁ δῆμος αὖθις, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα προαιρούμενοι διχῆ τε ἤδη

 ¹ δμῖν, υμᾶς, δμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς, ἡμῶν L.
 ² ἀκολουθήσουσι R. Steph., ἀκολουθήσωσι L.

 ⁸ τοσούτου Bk., τοσούτωι L.
 ⁴ νομίζειν Xyl., ὀνομάζειν L.
 ⁵ ἐν Polak, μὲν ἐν L.

determining what it was their business to do. But B.C 44 now practically everything is at such an opportune point that matters are in your hands and depend upon you; and from yourselves you may obtain either harmony and with it liberty, or seditions and civil wars once more and a master at the close For whatever you decide on to-day, all the rest of the citizens will follow. being the state of the case, as I am convinced, I declare that we ought to give up our mutual enmities, or jealousies, or whatever name should be applied to them, and return to that old-time state of peace and friendship and harmony. For you should remember this, if nothing else, that so long as we conducted our government in that way we acquired lands, riches, glory, and allies, but ever since we were led into injuring one another, so far from becoming better off, we have become decidedly worse off. Now I am so firmly convinced that nothing else at present can save the city that if we do not to-day, at once, with all possible speed, adopt some policy, I believe we shall never be able to regain our position at all.

"That you may see, now, that I am speaking the truth, look at present conditions and then consider our position in olden times. Do you not see what is taking place—that the people are again being divided and torn asunder and that, with some choosing this side and some that, they have already fallen into two

2 νενέμηνται καὶ διχή στρατοπεδεύονται, καὶ οί μεν το Καπιτώλιον προκατειλήφασιν ώσπερ τινάς Γαλάτας φοβούμενοι, οι δε έκ της άγορας πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζονται καθάπερ Καρχηδόνιοί τινες ἀλλ' οὐ 'Ρωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ 3 όντες; οὐκ ἀκούετε δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις διγογνωμονησάντων τινών ώστε καὶ τὸν 'Αουεντίνου ποτε και το Καπιτώλιου, έστι δ' οθς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος κατασχεῖν, ὁσάκις μὲν ἐπὶ τοις Ισοις, η και βραχύ τι συγχωρήσαντες οί έτεροι τοίς έτέροις, κατηλλάγησαν, μισουντές 4 τε άλλήλους εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη καὶ δμονοία τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διήγαγον ουτως ώστε και πολλούς και μεγάλους πολέμους κοινή κατορθώσαι· όσάκις δὲ δὴ πρὸς φόνους καὶ σφαγάς έχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν δικαιώσει τοῦ άμύνεσθαι τοὺς προύπάρξαντας, οί δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία του μηδενός έλασσουσθαι δοκείν άπατη-5 θέντες, οὐδὲν πώποτε χρηστὸν ἐγένετο; τί γὰρ δεί πρὸς οὐδὲν ήττον ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὸν Οὐαλέριον, τον Οράτιον, τον Σατορυίνον, τον Γλαυκίαν, τοὺς Γράκχους λέγοντα ' διατρίβειν; τοιαῦτ' οὖν παραδείγματα, και ταθτα οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἀλλ' 6 οἰκεῖα ἔχοντες, μὴ μελλήσητε τὰ μὲν ζηλῶσαι τὰ δὲ Φυλάξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἄτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων την πείραν της έκβάσεως ὧν βουλεύεσθε προειληφότες, μηκέτι τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ώς καὶ ρήματα διασκοπεῖτε, άλλὰ τὰ ² τῷ κοινῷ διαφέροντα ώς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἤδη ὄντα θεωρεῖτε. 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσαφεῖ τινι ἐνθυμήσει τάφανὲς τῆς

λέγοντα R Steph., λέγοντας L.
 τὰ added by Pflugk.

parties and two camps, and that the one side has BG 44 seized the Capitol as if they feared the Gauls or somebody, while the others with headquarters in the Forum are preparing, as if they were so many Carthaginians and not Romans, to besiege them? Have you not heard how, though formerly citizens often quarrelled, even to the extent of occupying the Aventine once, and the Capitol, and some of them the Sacred Mount, yet as often as they were reconciled on fair terms, or by yielding a little one to the other, they at once stopped hating one another, and lived the rest of their lives in such peace and harmony that together they carried through successfully many great wars? And how, on the other hand, as often as they had recourse to murders and bloodshed, the one side deluded by the plea of defending themselves against aggression, and the other side by an ambition to appear to be inferior to none, no good ever came of it? Why need I waste time by reciting to you, who know them equally well, the names of Valerius, Horatius, Saturninus, Glaucia, the Gracchi? With such examples before you, examples chosen not from foreign countries but from your own, do not hesitate to imitate the right course and to guard against the wrong, but in the conviction that you have already had in the events themselves a proof of the outcome of the plans you are now making, do not any longer look upon what I say as mere words, but consider that the interests of the state are already involved. For thus you will not be led by any vague notion to put to the hazard

έλπίδος ἀναρρίψετε, ἀλλ' έχεγγύφ πίστει τὸ

βέβαιον τοῦ λογισμοῦ προνοήσετε.

" Υπάρχει μεν οθν ύμεν τουθ, όπερ είπον, 26 οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων λαβοῦσιν ὀρθῶς Βουλεύσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ξενικοῖς παραδείγμασι χρησθαι ήθέλησα, μυρία ἃν εἰπεῖν ἔχων. εν δ' οὖν ὅμως τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ ἀρχαιο-τάτης πόλεως, παρ' ης οὐδ' οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπάγεσθαί τινας νόμους ἀπηξίωσαν, παρέξομαι. 2 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἰη τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆ ρώμη και τη γνώμη των 'Αθηναίων ὑπερέχοντας χείρον αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι. ἐκείνοι τοίνυν (λέγω δὲ δ πάντες ἴστε) στασιάσαντές ποτε, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ὑπὸ ² τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καταπολεμηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ ² τῶν δυνατωτέρων πολιτῶν 3 τυραννηθέντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν κακών πρίν συνθέσθαι καὶ διομολογήσασθαι τών τε συμβεβηκότων σφίσι, πολλών που καὶ δεινών όντων, ἐπιλήσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε ἐγκαλέσειν ποτὲ μήτε μνησικακήσειν 4 τινί. τοιγάρτοι σωφρονήσαντες ούτως ούχ ὅτι τυραννούμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν εὐθένησαν καὶ τήν τε πόλιν άνεκτήσαντο καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς άντεποιήσαντο, καὶ τέλος κύριοι καὶ σῶσαι καὶ άπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτοὺς καὶ 5 τούς Θηβαίους πολλάκις έγένοντο. καίτοι εί ηθελήκεσαν 4 έκεινοι οι την Φυλην καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατελθόντες τιμωρήσασθαι

¹ δμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν L.
² ὁπὸ Pflugk, ἐκ L.

³ εὐθένησαν Dind., εὐθήνησαν L. 4 ἡθελήκεσαν St., ἐτεθελήκεσαν L.

your hopes, doubtful at best, but will foresee with justi- B c 41 fiable confidence the certainty of your calculations.

"It is in your power, then, if you will receive this evidence that I mentioned from your own land and your own ancestors, to decide rightly; and that is why I did not wish to cite examples from abroad, though I might have mentioned countless such. One example, however, I will offer from the best and most ancient city, from which even our fathers did not disdain to introduce certain laws; for it would be disgraceful for us, who so far surpass the Athenians in might and intelligence, to deliberate less wisely than they. Now they were once at variance among themselves, as you all know, and as a result were overcome in war by the Lacedaemonians and were subjected to a tyranny of the more powerful citizens; and they did not obtain a respite from their ills until they made a compact and agreement to forget their past injuries, though these were many and severe, and never to bring any accusation whatever or to bear any malice against any one because of them. Accordingly, when they had thus come to their senses, they not only ceased being subject to tyrannies and seditions, but flourished in every way, regaining their city, laying claim to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and finally gaining the authority, as often happened, to save or destroy the Lacedaemonians themselves and also the Thebans. And yet, if the men who seized Phyle and returned from the Peiraeus had chosen to take vengeance

τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠδίκηντο, εὔλογον μεν αν πραγμα πεποιηκέναι εδεδόχεσαν, πολλα δ' αν και εδεδράκεσαν κακα και επεπόνθεσαν. 6 ὥσπερ γὰρ κρείττους αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα έγένοντο, τάχ' ἄν τι καὶ ἠλαττώθησαν αὖθις. 27 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις βέβαιον οὐδέν, οὐδ' εξ ων ισχύει τις, πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ πάμπολλοι μεν θαρσοῦντες ἔπταισαν, πάμπολλοι δὲ ζητοῦντες ἀμύνασθαί τινα προσαπώλοντο. 2 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πλεονεκτούμενον ἔν τινι πάντως εὐτυχεί, διότι καὶ ἀδικείται, οὔτε τὸ δυνάμει προύχον πάντως κατορθοί, διότι καὶ προήκει,2 άλλ' άμφότερα άπὸ τῆς ἴσης καὶ τῷ παραλόγω τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ τῷ ἀσταθμήτω τῆς τύχης ὑποκείμενα, καὶ τὴν ροπὴν πολλάκις οὐ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον εὔελπι ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων ἀδόκητον 3 λαμβάνει. ὅθεν ἔκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς φιλονεικίας (δεινον γάρ έστιν άνθρωπος άδικηθείς ή νομίσας γε άδικεῖσθαι ύπὲρ δύναμιν θρασύνας. θαι) καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἰσχὖν επαίρονται διακινδυνεύειν ώς και κρατήσοντες ή 4 οὔτι γε καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ διολούμενοι, καὶ οὕτω ³ τὰ μὲν νικῶντες τὰ δὲ ἡττώμενοι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν άντεπικρατούντες άλλων τοτε δε άντελαττούμενοι, οί μεν πασσυδί συναπόλλυνται, οί δε τήν τε Καδμείαν λεγομένην νίκην νικῶσιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ὅτ᾽ οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστιν, αἰσθάνονται ὅτι κακῶς ἐβουλεύσαντο.

28 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔργφ μεμαθήκατε. σκοπεῖτε δέ ἴσχυσέ τινα χρόνον

 $^{^1}$ οὐδ' Pflugk, οὕτ' L. 2 προήκει Leunel., πρόηκει L. 3 οὕτω Bk., οὖτοι L.

on the city party for the wrongs they had suffered, B.C. 44 while they would, to be sure, have been thought to have performed a justifiable action, yet they would have suffered, as well as caused, many evils. For just as they exceeded their hopes by defeating their foes, they might perhaps in turn have been unexpectedly worsted. Indeed, in such matters there is no certainty with regard to victory, even as a result of one's power, but vast numbers who are confident fail and vast numbers who seek to take vengeance upon others perish at the same time themselves. For the one who is overreached in any transaction is not bound to be fortunate just because he is wronged, nor is the one who has the greater power bound to be successful just because he surpasses, but both are equally subject to the perversity of human affairs and to the instability of fortune, and the turn of the scale often corresponds, not to their own hopefulness, but to the unexpected play of these other factors. As a result of this and of rivalry (for man is very prone when wronged or believing himself wronged to become bold beyond his power) many are frequently encouraged to incur dangers even beyond their strength, with the idea that they will conquer or at least will not perish unavenged. So it is that, now conquering and now defeated, sometimes triumphing in turn and in turn succumbing, some perish utterly, while others gain a Cadmean victory, as the saying goes; and at a time when the knowledge can avail them nothing they perceive that they have planned unwisely.

"That this is true you also have learned by experience. Consider a moment: Marius for

¹ A proverbial expression for a victory which is of doubtful advantage to the conqueror.

έν τοις στασιωτικοίς ο Μάριος, είτ' έκπεσων καί δύναμιν άθροίσας ἴστε οἶα εἰργάσατο. ὁμοίως ό Σύλλας, ίνα μη τον Κίνναν μηδέ τον Στράβωνα μηδέ τους άλλους τους διὰ μέσου καταλέγω, δυνηθεὶς τὴν πρώτην, εἶτ' ἐλαττωθείς, ἔπειτα δυναστεύσας οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔπραξε. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Μάριον τὸν 1 δεύτερον ἢ τον Κίνναν έκεινον αὐτον ή τον Κάρβωνα ονο-2 μάζειν; 2 μετὰ ταῦτα Λέπιδος ίδίαν τέ τινα. ώς δη και τούτοις ἐπεξιών, στάσιν ήγειρε, και πασαν ολίγου την Ἰταλίαν ἐτάραξεν. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγημέν ποτε καὶ τούτου, μέμνησθε όσα αὖ καὶ οἶα πρός τε του Σερτωρίου και πρός των άλλων των 3 μετ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντων ἐπάθομεν. τί δ' ὁ Πομπήιος, τί δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς οὖτος; ἵνα μηδὲν ἐνταῦθα μήτε τοῦ Κατιλίνου μήτε τοῦ Κλωδίου μνημονεύσω. οὐ πρότερον μεν επολέμησαν άλλήλοις, καὶ ταθτα συγγενείς όντες, έπειτα μυρίων κακών ού μόνον την πόλιν ήμων ή και την λοιπην 'Ιταλίαν, άλλα και πασαν ώς είπειν την οίκου-4 μένην ἀνέπλησαν; ἄρ' οὖν μετά τε τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον τῶν πολιτών όλεθρον ήσυχία τις εγένετο; πόθεν; πολλού γε καὶ δεί. οίδε δε ή Αφρική, οίδεν ή 'Ιβηρία τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθι ἀπολομένων. 5 τί οὖν; ἐπί γε τούτοις εἰρηνήσαμεν; καὶ πῶς; όπότε κείται μεν αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ οὕτω σφανείς. κατέχεται δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ πεπλήρωται μὲν ή άγορὰ τῶν ὅπλων, πεπλήρωται δὲ καὶ πᾶσα

¹ του Xvl , το L.

² This sentence savours strongly of an interpolation. Reiske bracketed it ³ $\mu \epsilon \nu$ added by Bk.

time was strong amid civil strife; then he was B.C 44 driven out, collected a force, and accomplishedyou know what. Likewise Sulla,-not to speak of Cinna or Strabo or the rest who came between,powerful at first, later defeated, finally making himself master, was guilty of every possible cruelty. And why name the second Marius, or even that same Cinna, or Carbo? 1 After that Lepidus, ostensibly with the purpose of punishing these men, got together a faction of his own and stirred up almost all Italy. When we at last got rid of him, too, remember what we suffered from Sertorius and from his fellow-exiles. What did Pompey, what did this Caesar himself do, to make no mention here of Catiline or Clodius? Did they not at first fight against each other, and that in spite of their relationship, and then fill with countless evils not only our own city or even the rest of Italy, but practically the entire world? Well then, after Pompey's death and that great slaughter of the citizens,2 did any quiet appear? By no means. How could it? Africa knows, Spain knows, the multitudes who perished in each of those lands. What then? Did we have peace after this? Peace, when Caesar himself lies slain in this fashion, when the Capitol is occupied, when the Forum is filled with arms and the whole city

¹ See note on Greek text.

² At Pharsalus.

29 ή πόλις τοῦ φόβου. οὕτως ἐπειδὰν ἄρξωνταί τινες στασιάζειν, καὶ τὰ βίαια ἀεὶ τοῖς βιαίοις άμύνεσθαι ζητώσι, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ πρός τε την επιθυμίαν και την εξουσίαν την εκ των όπλων ποιώνται, κύκλος τις έξ ανάγκης αεί των κακών γίγνεται καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις ἐκ διαδοχής τών 2 δεινών συμβαίνει. τό τε γάρ εὐτυχῆσαν ὕβρει τε πλεονάζει καὶ οὐδένα δρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιείται, καὶ τὸ πταισαν ὀργή της συμφοράς, ἄν γε μή παραγρήμα ἀπόληται, ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τὸν άδικήσαντα έπιθυμεί μέχρις αν τον θυμον έκ-3 πλήση, και αὐτοῖς και τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος, κὰν μη συμμετάσχη των πραγμάτων, άλλα τότε γε τῶ τε ἐλέφ τοῦ νενικημένου καὶ τῷ φθόνφ τοῦ κεκρατηκότος, δείσάν τε άμα μή καί τὰ αὐτὰ έκείνω πάθη, καὶ έλπίσαν τὰ αὐτὰ τούτω δράσειν. 4 συναίρεται. καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν στασιάζειν προάγεται, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπ' ἄλλοις τὸ κακόν, προφάσει τιμωρίας τῶν ἀεὶ ἐλαττουμένων, ὥσπερ τι ἔννομον καὶ ἐγκύκλιον πρâγμα, άνταμυνόμενοι διαδέχονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ώς έκαστοι ἀπαλλάσσουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ἐξ 30 ἄπαντος τρόπου φθείρουσιν. ἡ οὐχ δρᾶτε πόσον μεν χρόνον κατατετρίμμεθα πολεμούντες άλλήλοις, όσα δὲ καὶ οἶα ἐν αὐτῷ πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ ὅ γε ἔτι 1 τούτου δεινότερόν ἐστι, καὶ δεδράκαμεν; 2 καὶ τίς ἂν ἀριθμῆσαι 2 δύναιτο τὸ πλήθος τῶν χρημάτων α τούς τε συμμάχους περιδύοντες καὶ τούς θεούς περισυλώντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτοὶ

¹ καὶ ὅ γε ἔτι Bs., καὶ ὅ γε Bk., καίτοι τί L.
2 ὰν ἀριθμῆσαι Leunel., ἀνταριθμῆσαι L.

with fear? In this way, when men begin sedition and B.C 44 seek ever to repay violence with violence and inflict vengeance without regard to decency or humanity, but according to their desires and the power that arms give them, there necessarily occurs each time a kind of cycle of ills, and alternate requitals of outrages take place. For the fortunate side abounds in insolence and sets no limit to its greed, and the defeated side, if it does not perish immediately, rages at its misfortune and is eager to take vengeance on the oppressor, until it sates its wrath. And the remaining multitude, also, even though it has not taken sides, now through pity for the vanquished and envy of the victorious side cooperates with the oppressed, fearing that it may itself suffer the same evils as the one party, and hoping also that it may cause the same evils as the other. citizens who have remained neutral are brought into the dispute, and one class after another, on the pretext of avenging the side which is for the moment at a disadvantage, takes up the sorry business of reprisals as if it were a legitimate, everyday affair; and while individually they escape, they ruin the state in every way. Or do you not see how much time we have wasted in fighting one another, how many great evils we have meanwhile endured, and, what is worse than this, inflicted? And who could count the vast amount of money of which we have stripped our allies and robbed the gods and moreover have even contributed ourselves from what

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έξ δυ οὐκ εἴχομεν συνεσφέροντες, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις 3 δεδαπανήμεθα; τίς τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπολωλότων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γ' ἀνεξεύρετον έστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὧν είς ἕκαστος καὶ πᾶσαν την πόλιν ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις σῶσαι 4 καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἐδύνατο; πόσοι μὲν γὰρ Κούρτιοι, πόσοι δε Δέκιοι Φάβιοι Γράκχοι Μάρκελλοι Σκιπίωνες τεθνήκασιν; οὐ μὰ Δί οὐχ ίνα Σαυνίτας η Λατίνους η "Ιβηρας η Καρχηδονίους άμύνωνται, άλλ' ίνα . . . 1 καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπόλων-5 ται. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τετελευτηκότων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ὀδύραιτο ἄν τις, ἀλλ' ηττόν γε ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὀλοφύρασθαι· ἔς τε γὰρ τὰς μάχας εθελονταί, είγε εθελοντας τους αναγκασθέντας φόβω καλείν δεί, ήλθον, καὶ θάνατον εί καὶ ἄδικον ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεῖόν γε ὑπέμειναν, ἔν τε άγωνι ἰσοπαλεῖ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ κὰν περιγενέσ-6 θαι καὶ κρατήσαι ἔπεσου 2 ἀναισθήτως. τοὺς δὲ ἔν τε ταίς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ταίς ὁδοίς τῆ τε ἀγορᾶ τῷ τε βουλευτηρίω αὐτῷ τῷ τε Καπιτωλίω αὐτῷ βιαίως, ούχ ὅπως ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, ούχ ὅπως άκμάζουτας άλλὰ καὶ γέρουτας καὶ παίδας, οἰκτρώς έξολωλότας πώς ἄν τις κατ' άξίαν θρηνήσειε; 7 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ³ οἶα καὶ όσα οὐτ' αὐτοί ποτε πρὸς πάντων ἄμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάθομεν οὖτε ἐκείνους ἐδράσαμεν, διατιθέντες άλλήλους οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀχθόμεθα, οὐδ' 4 ἀπαλλαγηναί ποτε αὐτῶν ἀνδρικῶς ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρομεν καὶ έορτάζομεν καὶ εὐεργέτας τοὺς ποι-

Lacuna recognized by Reim.
 ² ἔπεσον Oddey, ἔπαιον L.
 ³ καὶ τοσαῦτα supplied by Bk.
 ⁴ οὐδ' Rk, οὕτ' L.

we did not possess, only to expend it against one B.C 41 another? Or who could number the multitude of men who have been lost, not only of ordinary persons (for that is beyond computation) but of knights and senators, each one of whom was able in foreign wars to preserve the whole city by his life or by his death? How many Curtii, how many Decii, Fabii, Gracchi, Marcelli, and Scipios have been killed? And not, by Jupiter, to repel Samnites or Latins or Spaniards or Carthaginians, but [to kill citizens(?)] and to perish also themselves. As for those who have died under arms, no matter how much we may mourn their loss, yet there is less reason to lament in their case. For they entered their battles as volunteers (if it is proper to call by the name of volunteers men compelled by fear), and they met a death which, even if uncalled for, was at least a brave one; in an equal struggle and in the hope that they might really survive and conquer they fell without suffering. But how can one mourn as they deserve those who have perished miserably in their homes, in the streets, in the Forum, in the very senate-chamber, on the very Capitol, all by violencenot only men, but women, too, not only those in their prime, but also old men and children? And yet, while subjecting one another to so many and so terrible reprisals as all our enemies put together never inflicted upon us nor we upon them, so far from loathing such acts and manfully wishing to have done with them, we even rejoice and hold festivals

8 οῦντας αὐτὰ ὀνομάζομεν καίτοι ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινόν τινα βίον ήγουμαι τουτον ήμας βεβιωκέναι, άλλά τινων θηρίων, α δι' άλλήλων φθείρεται. " Καὶ τὰ μὲν ήδη συμβεβηκότα τί αν ἐπὶ πλέον 31 οδυραίμεθα; οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀγένητα ἂν 1 αὐτὰ ποιησαίμεθα· τῶν δὲ δὴ μελλόντων προιδώμεθα· 2 διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐμνημόνευσα, οὐχ ἵνα τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς, ἄς γε μηδὲ γενέσθαι ἄφελε, καταλέξω, άλλ' ίν υμας έξ αυτών άναπείσω τά γοῦν λοιπὰ διασῶσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄν τις 2 μόνον τῶν κακῶν ἀπόναιτο, τὸ μηδὲν αθθις ὅμοιόν σφισι 3 παθείν φυλάξασθαι. έξεστι δε τοῦθ' ὑμίν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα ποιήσαι, έως έτι τὸ δεινὸν άρχεται και ούτε πολλοί πω 3 συνεστήκασιν, οί τε κεκινημένοι ούτε πεπλεονεκτήκασιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐτ' ήλάττωνται, ώστ' η 4 ελπίδι τοῦ κρείττονος η 5 οργη του καταδεεστέρου και παρά τὸ συμφέρον σφίσιν ἀπερισκέπτως κινδυνεθσαι προκαὶ τοῦτο μέντοι τηλικοῦτο ον 6 κατ-4 αχθήναι. ορθώσετε μήτε πόνον τινά πονήσαντες μήτε κινδυνεύσαντες, μὴ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντες, μὴ σφαγὰς ποιήσαντες, άλλ, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ψηφισάμενοι, 32 μη μνησικακείν άλλήλοις. εί γάρ τοί τινα καί ημάρτηταί τισιν, άλλ' οὔτι γε καιρός ἐστιν οὔτε πολυπραγμονήσαι αὐτὰ οὕτε έξελέγξαι οὕτε τιμωρήσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζετέ τισιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ώστε τὸ ⁸ πάνυ ἀκριβèς δίκαιον ζητηθ ῆναι δείν, άλλα βουλεύεσθε περί των ἐνεστηκότων,

 ⁵ ħ supplied by Reim.
 6 δν supplied by Pflugk.
 8 ἄστε τὸ Xyl., ὡς τότε L.

and term those who are guilty of them benefactors. B.C. 11 Verily, I do not regard this life that we have been leading as human; it is rather that of wild beasts

which are destroyed by one another.

"Yet why should we lament further what is already past? We cannot now prevent its having happened. Let us rather provide for the future. This, indeed, is the reason why I have been recalling former events, not for the purpose of giving a list of our public calamities (would to Heaven they had never occurred!) but that by means of them I might persuade you to save at least what is left. For this is the only benefit one can derive from evils, to guard against having ever again to suffer their like. And this is within your power especially at the present moment, while the danger is just beginning, while not many have yet united, and while those who have been stirred to action have gained no advantage over one another nor suffered any set-back, that they should be led by hope of their superiority or anger at their inferiority to incur danger heedlessly and contrary to their own interests. Great as this task is, however, you will deal with it successfully without incurring any hardship or danger, without spending money or causing bloodshed, but simply by voting this one thing, to bear no malice against one another. Even if mistakes have been made by certain persons, this is no time to enquire minutely into them, to convict, or to punish. For you are not at the present moment sitting in judgment upon any one, that you should need to search out with absolute accuracy what is just, but you are deliberating about the situation that has arisen and

2 ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστῆ. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ύπάρξειεν ήμιν, εἰ μή τι παρίδοιμεν, ὥσπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν. οὔτε νὰρ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκλογιζόμεθα, κάὶ πολλὰ καὶ παρορώμεν ἀναγκαίως· τῶν γὰρ με-τρίων ἁμαρτημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδέν' ἀνηκέστως δεῖ 3 κολάζειν, άλλα πράως σωφρονίζειν. και νυν ουν, άτε καὶ κοινοὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου πατέρες οὐ μόνον ονομαζόμενοι άλλα και άληθως όντες, μη καὶ πάντα ἀκριβολογώμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα, ἐπεί τοι πολλὰ μὲν ἄν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῶ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλέσειεν, ὥστε καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸν 4 πεφονεῦσθαι δόξαι, πολλά δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτο, ὥστε καὶ τιμωρίας αύτοὺς ἀξίους είναι νομισθήναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ανδρών ἔργον ἐστὶ στασιάσαι αὖθις ἐπιθυμούντων δεί δὲ τοὺς ὀρθώς βουλευομένους μὴ τὸ πάντη δίκαιον έξακριβούντας βλάπτεσθαι, άλλα και τω 5 επιεικεί προσχρωμένους σώζεσθαι. ώστε τὰ μέν γεγενημένα τάῧτα χαλάζης τέ τινος καὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τρόπον συμβεβηκέναι νομίσαντες λήθη παράδοτε γνωρίσαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους, ἄτε καὶ ομόφυλοι καὶ πολίται συγγενείς τε όντες, δμονοήσατε.

3 "Καὶ ὅπως γε μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑποπτεύση με χαρίσασθαί τι τοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείνασιν, ἵνα μὴ δίκην δῶσιν, ὅτι ποτὰ ἐν τῆ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδι 2 ἐγενόμην, βούλεσθαι,² ἔν τι ὑμῖν ἐρῶ. καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ νομίζω πάντας ὑμᾶς πεπεῖσθαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὕτε φιλίαν οὕτε ἔχθραν πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε δι ἐμαυτὸν ἀνειλόμην, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πάντας ὑμῶν ἕνεκα ¹ οὐδέν Reim., οὐδὲν L. ² βούλεσθαι Leuncl., βούλεσθε L. 360

as to how it may in the safest way be righted. 1......44 But this is something we cannot accomplish unless we overlook some things, as we are wont to do in the case of children. When dealing with them, now, we do not take careful account of everything, but of necessity overlook many things, since for moderate errors it is not right to punish one of them remorselessly, but rather to admonish him gently. And now, since we are in common the fathers of all the people, not in name only, but in reality, let us not enter into a discussion of all the fine points, lest we all perish. For that matter anybody could find much to blame in Caesar himself, so that he would seem to have been justly slain, or again might bring numerous charges against those who killed him, so that they would be thought to deserve punishment. But such a course is for men who are eager to stir up strife again, whereas it is necessary for those who deliberate wisely not to cause their own hurt by meting out strict justice, but to secure their own safety by employing clemency with justice. Regard this, then, that has happened as if it were some hail-storm or deluge that had taken place, and consign it to oblivion. And learn at last to know one another, since you are countrymen and fellow-citizens and relatives, and so live in harmony.

"In order, now, that none of you may suspect me of wishing to grant any indulgence to Caesar's slayers to prevent their paying the penalty, in view of the fact that I was once a member of Pompey's party, I will make one statement to you. For I think that all of you are firmly convinced that I have never adopted an attitude of friendship or hostility toward any one for purely personal

καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τοὺς μεν εμίσησα τους δε ήγάπησα. δι' οὖν τοῦτο 1 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐάσω, βραχύ δέ τι ὑμῖν μόνον φράσω. 3 τοσούτου γὰρ δέω τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας προσκοπείν, ώστε και τοίς ετέροις ούχ ότι την άδειαν άπάντων ων επιπολάσαντες επί τοῦ Καίσαρος έξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐποίησαν δοθηναί φημι χρήναι, άλλα και τας τιμάς και τας άργας καὶ τὰς δωρεάς, ὅσας ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενός τισιν αὐτῶν, φυλαχθῆναι. 4 πράξαι μεν γαρ έτι 2 καὶ προχειρίσασθαί τι τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν συμβουλεύσαιμι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ γέγονεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πολυπραγμονήσαι. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζημιωθείητε τοσοῦτον, άντι 3 ο δείνα ή ο δείνα έξω του δικαίου και παρά την άξίαν λαβων έχη, οσον ωφεληθείητε μήτε φόβον μήτε ταραχὴν τοῖς γε δυνηθεῖσι τότε παρασχόντες;

5 ΄΄ Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ κατεπείρον ἤδη λέγω· ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστῆ τὰ πράγματα,

τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σκεψώμεθα."

Κικέρων μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ἔπεισε τὴν γερουσίαν μηδένα μηδενὶ μνησικακῆσαι ψηφίσασθαι ἐν ῷ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπέσχοντο τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πραχθέντων καταλύσειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ἤσθοντο μὴ καὶ τῶν δοθέντων σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στερηθῶσιν, ἔσπευσαν, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν τὴν βουλὴν διαγνῶναι, προκατα-

¹ τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα L.

² ἔτι Bk., τι L.

³ τι supplied by Bk.

reasons, but that it was always for your sake and for B.C.41 the public freedom and harmony that I hated the one side and loved the other; for this reason I will pass over everything else and make merely one brief statement to you. So far, indeed, am I from acting in the way I have mentioned, instead of looking out for the public safety, that I affirm that the others, too, should not only be granted immunity for their high-handed acts, contrary to established law, in Caesar's lifetime, but that they also should keep the honours, offices and gifts which they received from him, though I am not pleased with some of these. I should not indeed, advise you to do or to grant anything further of the kind; but since it has been done, I think you ought not to be troubled overmuch about any of these matters, either. For what loss could you sustain, even if this man or that does hold something that he has obtained apart from justice and contrary to his deserts, so far-reaching as the benefits you would obtain by not causing fear or disturbance to the men who were formerly powerful.

"This is what I have to say for the present, in face of the pressing need. But when matters have become settled, let us then consider the questions that remain."

Cicero by the foregoing speech persuaded the senate to vote that no one should bear malice against any one else. While this was being done, the assassins also promised the soldiers that they would not undo any of Caesar's acts. For as soon as they perceived that the troops were very ill at ease for fear that they would be deprived of what he had given them, they made haste, before the senate reached any decision whatever, to get them on their

λαβεῖν αὐτούς, κἀκ τούτου τούς τε παρόντας αὐτοῦ κάτω προκαλοῦντες ἐς ἐπήκοον διελέγοντό 3 σφισι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν γράμματα καταπέμποντες ἐπηγγέλλοντο μήτ' άφαιρήσεσθαι 2 μηδένα μηδέν μήτ' ἄλλως λυπήσειν, . τό τε κῦρος σύμπασι³ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκβεβαιοῦν· καὶ ἐς τὴν δμόνοιαν αὐτοὺς προετρέποντο, δρκοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ἢ μὴν ἀψευ-4 δήσειν πάντα πιστούμενοι. ως οὖν καὶ τὰ τῆ βουλῆ δόξαντα διηγγέλθη, οὔτε οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Λεπίδω έτι προσείχον ούτε έκείνοι δέος τι αύτοῦ έσχον, άλλ' ές τὰς καταλλαγάς, τοῦ 'Αντωνίου τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντός σφας, καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην 5 αὐτοῦ ὅρμησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λέπιδος πρόσχημα την του Καίσαρος τιμωρίαν ποιούμενος νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ἄτε καὶ στρατεύματα έχων τήν τε δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέξεσθαι 5 καὶ έν κράτει γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' 6 ἐπολεμοποίει· ὁ δὲ ἀντώνιος τά τε ἐκείνου τοιαθθ' όρων ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸς μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν περιβεβλημένος, οὔτε τι ἐτόλμησε τότε γε νεοχμῶσαι, καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ήττηθηναι τοῦ πλείονος, ἵνα μη μείζων γένηται, προσανέπεισεν. συνέβησαν μέν οὖν έφ' οίσπερ έψήφιστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οί έν τῷ Καπιτωλίω όντες κατέβησαν πρὶν τόν τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀΑντωνίου παιδα ἐν δμήρων λόγφ λαβείν. καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν πρὸς τὸν 7 Λέπιδον (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτῷ ἢν), Κάσσιος δὲ

¹ μήτ' Pflugk, μηδ' L

² ἀφαιρήσεσθαι Pflugk, ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι L.

^{&#}x27; σύμπασι Xyl., σὺν πᾶσι L.

^{*} προετρέποντο Η. Steph., προετράποντο L. 5 διαδέξεσθαι R. Steph., διαδέξασθαι L.

side. Next they invited those who were present at H.C 44 the foot of the Capitol to come within hearing distance and addressed suitable words to them; and they also sent down a letter to the Forum announcing that they would not confiscate anybody's goods or cause injury in other ways, and that they confirmed the validity of all the acts of Caesar. They also urged them to harmony, binding themselves by the strongest oaths that they would faithfully carry out these promises. When, therefore, the action of the senate also was made known, the soldiers no longer paid heed to Lepidus nor did the conspirators have any fear of him, but all hastened to become reconciled, chiefly at the instance of Antony, and quite contrary to Lepidus' purpose. For Lepidus, while making a pretence of avenging Caesar, was really eager for a revolution, and masmuch as he had legions also at his command, he expected to succeed to Caesar's position as ruler and to come to power; with these motives he was disposed to begin war. Antony, perceiving his rival's favourable situation and having himself no force at his back, did not dare to begin any revolutionary movement for the time being, and in order to prevent the other from becoming stronger, he furthermore persuaded him to bow to the will of the majority. So they came to an agreement on the terms that had been voted, but those on the Capitol would not come down till they had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of Antony as hostages; then Brutus [descended] to Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to

πρὸς τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἐπ' ἀσφαλεία 1 συνδειπνούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ τοιούτω, πολλά έλέγετο, καὶ ἐπήρετο τὸν Κάσσιον ό Αντώνιος " ἄρά γε καὶ νῦν ξιφίδιον τι ὑπὸ μάλης ² ἔχεις; " καὶ δς " μάλα " ἔφη " μέγα, ἄν γε καὶ σὺ τυραννήσαι ἐπιθυμήσης."

Τότε μέν δη ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ δεινὸν 35ούδεν ούτε εγίγνετο ούτε ήλπίζετο, άλλ' οί τε πολλοί έχαιρον της δυναστείας του Καίσαρος άπηλλαγμένοι (καί τινες καὶ ἄταφον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ δίλαι ἐνενόουν), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εὐθυμοῦντο μήτε προσπεριεργαζόμενοί τι καὶ έλευθερωταὶ 2 πυραννοφόνοι τε ονομαζόμενοι. της δε διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγνωσθείσης, μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος ότι τόν τε 'Οκτάουιον υίον πεποίηται, καὶ τον Αντώνιον τόν τε Δέκιμον καί τινας άλλους τῶν σφαγέων ἐπιτρόπους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους της οὐσίας, ἄν γε μη ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἔλθη, καταλέλοιπε, 3 καὶ προσέτι καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλοις τέ τινας καὶ τῆ πόλει τούς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ δραχμάς, ώς μεν αὐτὸς ὁ 'Οκτάουιος γράφει, τριάκοντα, ως δε ετεροι, πέντε και εβδομήκοντα έκάστω σφών δοθηναι κεκέλευκεν, ἐταράχθησαν. 4 και αὐτοὺς ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος ἐπιπαρώξυνε, τόν τε νεκρὸν

ές την άγοραν άνοητότατα 5 κομίσας, καὶ προθέμενος ήματωμένον τε, ώσπερ είχε, καὶ τραύματα εκφαίνοντα, καί τινα καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἄλλως μεν 6 περικαλλή καὶ λαμπρόν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

² μάλης Xiph., μασχάλης L. ¹ Lacuna recognized by Bs. 3 της Bk., της τε L. 4 έλθη Dind., έλθοι L.

⁵ Here begins Codex Marcianus 395 (M).

⁶ uèv Pflugk, te LM.

Antony, under promise of safety. And while they B.C.44 were dining together they naturally, at such a juncture, discussed a variety of topics and Antony asked Cassius: "Have you perchance a dagger under your arm even now?" To which he answered: "Yes, and a big one, if you too should desire to make yourself tyrant."

This was the way things went at that time. No injury was inflicted or expected, but instead the majority were glad to be rid of Caesar's rule, some of them even conceiving the idea of casting his body out unburied, and the conspirators, well pleased at being called liberators and tyrannicides, did not busy themselves with any further undertaking. But later, when Caesar's will was read and the people learned that he had adopted Octavius as his son and had left Antony along with Decimus and some of the other assassins to be the young man's guardians and heres to the property in case it should not come to him, and, furthermore, that he not only had made various bequests to individuals but had also given his gardens along the Tiber to the city and one hundred and twenty sesterces, according to the record of Octavius himself, or three hundred, according to some others, to each of the citizens,-at this the people became excited. And Antony aroused them still more by bringing the body most inconsiderately into the Forum, exposing it all covered with blood as it was and with gaping wounds, and then delivering over it a speech, which was very

συμφέροντα τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, εἰπών. ἔλεξε

γὰρ τοιάδε·

36 "Εἰ μὲν οὖτος ἰδιωτεύων ἐτεθνήκει κάγὼ ἐν ίδιωτεία ὢν ἐτύγχανον, οὔτ' ἂν πολλῶν, ὧ Κυιριται, λόγων έδεήθην, οὔτ' αν πασι τοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐπεξηλθον, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα ἂν περί τε τοῦ γένους καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τε τρόπων αὐτοῦ εἰπών, καί πη καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων μνησθείς, ἠρκέσθην, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου τοῖς οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσι γένωμαι. 2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὖτός τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ὑμῖν ήγεμονίαν έχων ἀπόλωλε καὶ ἐγὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἀρχω λαβών, τόν τε λόγον ἀνάγκη μοι διπλοῦν, τὸν μὲν ὡς κληρονόμφ γεγραμμένφ τὸν δὲ ὡς ἄρχοντι, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν τῶν λεχθήναι ὀφειλόντων παραλιπεῖν, άλλ' ἄπερ αν δ σύμπας δήμος από μιας γλώσσης, είγε μίαν 3 φωνην ηδυνήθη λαβείν, υμνησεν, είπείν. ευ μέν γαρ οίδα τουθ', ότι χαλεπόν έστι της διανοίας ύμων τυχεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐ ῥάδιον των τηλικούτων ἐφικέσθαι· τίς γὰρ ἂν λόγος ἔργοις μεγάλοις έξισωθείη; καὶ ύμεῖς τὰ βουλήματα ἄπληστα έξ ὧν σύνιστε ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐχερεῖς 4 αὐτῶν κριταὶ γενήσεσθε. εί μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγνῶσί τισιν οί λόγοι έγίγνοντο, ράστον αν ήν αὐτούς τῷ γε 1 μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐκπλήξαντα πεῖσαι· νῦν δ' ύπὸ τοῦ συνήθους ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ² πᾶν τὸ λεχθησόμενον τοῦ πεπραγμένου νομισθήναι. 5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλότριοι, κἂν ἀπιστήσωσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ Φθόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γε ἐκείνου πᾶν τὸ

¹ γε Rk., τε LM.

² ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ R. Steph., ἀναγκασθῆι LM

ornate and brilliant, to be sure, but out of place on B.C. 44 that occasion. He spoke somewhat as follows:

"If this man had died as a private citizen, Quirites, and I had happened to be in private life, I should not have required many words nor have rehearsed all his achievements, but after making a few remarks about his family, his education, and his character, and perhaps mentioning his services to the state, I should have been satisfied, desiring only not to become wearisome to those who were unrelated to him. But since this man when he perished held the highest position among you and I have received and hold the second, it is requisite that I should deliver a two-fold address, one as the man set down as his heir and the other in my capacity as magistrate, and I must not omit anything that ought to be spoken, but must mention the things which the whole people would have celebrated with one tongue if they could speak with one voice. Now I am well aware that it is difficult successfully to utter vour thoughts; for it is no easy task in any case to measure up to so great a theme-indeed, what speech could equal the greatness of his deeds?—and you, whose wishes are not easily satisfied because you know the facts as well as I, will prove no lenient judges of my efforts. To be sure, if my words were being addressed to men ignorant of the subject, it would be very easy to win their approval by astounding them by the very magnitude of his achievements; but as the matter stands, because of your familiarity with them it is inevitable that everything that shall be said will be thought less than the reality. Strangers, even if through jealousy they doubt the deeds, yet for that very reason deem each

άκουσθεν αὐταρκες ήγοῦνται τὸ δε ὑμέτερον ακόρεστον ύπο της ευνοίας έξ ανάγκης γίγνεται. τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοὶ πλείστου απολελαυκότες και του έπαινου αυτών ού φθονερώς, ώς ούδεν προσήκοντα, άλλ' εύμενώς, 6 ώς οἰκείου, ἀπαιτείτε, σπουδάσω δ' οὖυ ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰς βουλήσεις ὑμῶν ἀποπληρῶσαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμίν μοὐ τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐξετάσετε, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐνδεὲς ἀνισώσετε.1-37 " Λέξω δὲ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, οὐχ ότι λαμπρότατόν έστι καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο οὐ σμικρον ες άρετης φύσιν φέρει, το μήτε άπο ταὐτομάτου τινὰ ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγγενοῦς 2 άγαθὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντες δύναιντο μεν αν καὶ προσποιητως ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, δύναιντο δ' αν καὶ ελεγχθηναί ποτε ές τὸ κακογενες ύπὸ τοῦ συμφύτου όσοις δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐκ πολλοῦ σπέρμα ἀνδραγαθίας ύπάς χει, πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτόφυτον καὶ 3 διαρκή την άρετην έχειν. οὐ μην άλλ' έγωγε οὐ τοῦτο μάλιστα νῦν ἐπαινῶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι τὰ μεν νεώτατα εκ πολλών και γενναίων ανδρών έφυ, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότατα ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ θεῶν ἐγίγνετο, άλλ' ὅτι πρώτον μὲν τῆς πόλεως ήμων ὅλης συγγενής έστιν (έκ γαρ ων ούτος έγεννήθη, πρὸς 4 τούτων ήμεις ωκίσθημεν), έπειθ' ότι προπατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ θεῖον δι' ἀρετὴν ανήκειν νομισθέντων ούχ όπως έπηλήθευσε την 1 ανισώσετε Dind., ανασώσετε LM. 370

statement they hear strong enough; but your minds, B.C. 44 because of your good-will, must mevitably prove impossible to satisfy. For you yourselves have profited most by Caesar's virtues, and you demand their praises, not half-heartedly, as if he were unrelated to you, but with deep affection as for your own kinsman. I shall strive, therefore, to meet your wishes to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that you will not judge my good-will by the feebleness of my words, but will supply from my zeal whatever is lacking in that respect.

"I shall speak first about his lineage, though not because it is the most brilliant. Yet this, too, has considerable bearing on the nature of virtue, that a man should become good, not through force of circumstances, but by inherited power. Those, to be sure, who are not born of noble parents may disguise themselves as noble men, but may also some day be convicted of their base origin by their inborn character; those, however, who possess the seed of a noble nature, handed down through a long line of ancestors, cannot possibly help possessing a virtue both spontaneous and enduring. Still, I am praising Caesar now, not so much because his recent lineage is through many noble men, his ancient origin from kings and gods, but because, in the first place, he is a kinsman of our whole city,for those who founded his line also founded our city, -and, secondly, because he not only confirmed the renown of his forefathers who were believed to have attained divinity through their virtue, but

actually enhanced it; so that if anyone was inclined 8.0.44 formerly to argue that Aeneas could never have been born of Venus, let him now believe it. For, although in times past some unworthy sons have been imputed to the gods, yet no one could deem this man unworthy to have had gods for his ancestors. Indeed, Aeneas himself ruled as king and so did some of his descendants; but this man proved himself so much superior to them that, whereas they were monarchs of Lavinium and Alba, he refused to become king of Rome; and whereas they laid the foundation of our city, he raised it to such a height that he even established colonies greater than the cities over which they ruled.

"So much, then, for his family. That he also received a nurture and a training corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth how could one better realize than by the cogent proof his deeds afford? For is it not mevitable that a man who possessed to a conspicuous degree a body that was altogether adequate and a spirit that was more than adequate for all contingencies alike of peace and of war, must have been reared in the best possible way? And yet it is difficult for any man of surpassing beauty to show the greatest endurance, and difficult for one who is powerful in body to attain to the greatest wisdom, but it is particularly difficult for one and the same man to shine both in words and in deeds. Yet this man—I speak among those who know the

τι άρχην ψεύσασθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτόφωρος άλισκοίμην, μήτε έπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ὀγκῶσαι, καὶ γὰρ αν 1 ές τουναντίον ου βούλομαι 2 καθισταίμην. 4 αὐτός τε γὰρ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι δικαιότατα, ἄν γέ τι τοιοῦτο³ ποιήσω,. ὑποπτευθήσομαι, καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀρετὴν ἐλάσσω τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ παρ' υμίν δόξης φαίνεσθαι ποιείν νομισθήσομαι. πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε λεγόμενος, κὰν τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδους 4 προσλάβη, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαινον αὐτῷ φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ ὅ ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ συνειδὸς τῶν ἀκροωμένων, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν τῷ πεπλασμένω, πρός τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν φέρεται, καὶ τάχα ἀρκεσθὲν αὐτῆ μανθάνει τε ἄμα δποϊόν τινα έχρην είναι, και παραβάλλον έκάτερα καταφωρά τὸ λείπον. ἀληθεύων οὖν λέγω τοῦθ'. ότι ὁ Καΐσαρ ούτος τό τε σώμα ἄμα ίκανώτατος 6 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐκολώτατος ἐγένετο. τῆ τε γὰρ της φύσεως ίσχύι θαυμαστη ἐκέχρητο, καὶ παιδεία παντοδαπή ἀκριβώς ήσκητο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεικότως καὶ γνωναι πάν τὸ δέον ὀξύτατα καὶ έρμηνεθσαι πιθανώτατα διαθέσθαι τε καὶ διοικήσαι φρονιμώτατα ἀεὶ ήδυνήθη, καὶ οὔτε τις αὖτου καιρού ροπη αἰφνιδίως οἱ προσπεσούσα προκατέλαβεν, οὕτ' ἀπόρρητος μέλλησις χρονί-7 σασα διέλαθε. πάντα γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὶν ἐπαρτηθηναι ε και προδιεγίγνωσκε, και προς πάντα τὰ συμβηναί τινι δυνάμενα προπαρεσκεύαστο τό

¹ αν supplied by Pflugk.
2 βούλομαι V, βουλεύομαι LM

³ τοιοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦτο LM.
4 τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδους Βκ., τὸ βραχὸ τὸ ψεῦδος LM.

⁵ διέλαθε Rk., διελάθετο LM cod. Peir.

ἐπαρτηθῆναι Rk., ἀπαρτηθῆναι L.
 τινι L (and M by cor.), τι cod. Peir. (and M originally).

facts, so that I shall not falsify in the least degree, B.C. 41 since I should be caught in the very act, nor heap up exaggerated praises, since then I should accomplish the opposite of what I wish. For if I do anything of that sort, I shall be suspected with full justice of boasting, and it will be thought that I am making his virtue appear less than the belief in it which is already in your own minds. In fact, every utterance delivered under such conditions, in case it contains even the smallest amount of falsehood, not only bestows no praise upon its subject but actually involves censure of him; for the knowledge of the hearers, not agreeing with the fictitious report, takes refuge in the truth, where it quickly finds satisfaction, and not only learns what kind of man he ought to have been, but also, by comparing the two, detects what he lacked. Stating only the truth, therefore, I affirm that this Caesar was at the same time most capable in body and most versatile in spirit. For he enjoyed a wonderful natural force and had been carefully trained by the most liberal education, which always enabled him, not unnaturally, to comprehend everything that was needful with the greatest keenness, to interpret the need most convincingly, and then to arrange and handle the matter most prudently. No critical turn in a situation came upon him so suddenly as to catch him off his guard, nor did a secret menace, no matter how long the postponement, escape his notice. he decided always with regard to every crisis before it was at hand, and was prepared beforehand for every contingency that could happen to one. He

τε κρυπτόμενον ἰσχυρώς ἀνευρείν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον πιθανώς ψευδαγνοεῖν, τό τε λανθά-νον 1 εἰδέναι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γιγνωσκό-8 μενον ἀποκρύψασθαι, τούς τε καιρούς σφισιν ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτών ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν πάνθ' ὡς ἔκαστα καλῶς ἠπίστατο. 39 τεκμήριον δέ, τά τε ίδια εὐοικότατός τε αμα καὶ εὐδαπανώτατος ἐγένετο, ἀκριβὴς μὲν ὢν ἐς τὸ τὰ ύπάρχοντα διαρκῶς φυλάξαι, δαψιλής δὲ ἐς τὸ τὰ προσήκοντα άφειδως άναλωσαι, καὶ τοὺς συγγενείς πάντας πλην των ανοσιωτάτων 2 Ισχυρώς ήγάπησεν ούτε γάρ δυστυχήσαντά τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερείδεν οὔτε εὐτυχήσαντί τινι έφθόνησεν, άλλα και τούτοις τα προυπάρχοντα συνεπηύξησε καὶ ἐκείνοις τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀνεπλήρωσε, τοις μὲν χρήματα τοις δὲ χωρία τοις δὲ ἀρχὰς 3 τοις δὲ ἰερωσύνας δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τούς φίλους τούς τε άλλους τούς προσομιλοῦντάς οί θαυμαστώς προσεφέρετο ούτε γάρ ύπερεφρόνει τινα αὐτῶν οὔθ΄ ὕβριζεν, ἀλλ΄ εὐπροσήγορος πασιν όμοίως ων τούς τε ύπουργουντάς τι πολλαπλασίως ημείβετο και τούς λοιπούς εὖεργεσίαις ἀνηρτᾶτο, καὶ οὔτε λαμπρυνόμενόν τινα ἐβάσκηνέ ποτε οὔτ' αὖξανόμενον ἐταπεί-4 νωσεν, άλλ' ώς καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ πάντων σφῶν καὶ μεγαλυνόμενος καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ κόσμον προσκτώμενος, έχαιρε πλείστους έαυτῷ παρισουμένους. τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους ὢν οὐδ' ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὡμὸς οὐδ'

¹ λανθάνον Leuncl., λανθάνειν LM cod. Peir.

understood well how to discern shrewdly what was no. 44 concealed, to dissimulate plausibly what was evident, to pretend to know what was hidden, to conceal what he knew, to adapt occasions to one another and to draw the proper inferences from them, and furthermore to accomplish and carry out in detail every enterprise. A proof of this is that in his private affairs he showed himself an excellent manager and very liberal at the same time, being careful to keep enough of what he had inherited, vet lavish in spending with an unsparing hand what he had acquired, and for all his relatives, except the most impious, he possessed a strong affection. For he did not neglect any of them in misfortune, nor did he envy those in good fortune, but he helped these to increase the property they already had, and made up to the others what they lacked, giving some of them money, some lands, some offices, and some priesthoods. Again, his conduct toward his friends and other associates was remarkable. He never scorned or insulted any of them, but while courteous to all alike, he rewarded many times over those who assisted him in any project and won the devotion of the rest by benefits, never disparaging any one of brilliant position, nor humiliating any one who was bettering himself, but, just as if he himself were being exalted through all of them and were acquiring strength and honour, he took delight in seeing great numbers become equal to himself. And vet. while he behaved thus toward his friends and acquaintances, he did not show himself cruel or

5 ἀπαραίτητος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ' πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰδία τι προσκρουσάντων οἱ ἀθώους ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν προσπολεμησάντων ἀπέλυσε, καί τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν, οὕτω που πᾶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπεφύκει, καὶ κακίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἄλλω τινὶ ἐνεῖναι ἐπίστευεν.

"'Επεὶ δὲ ἐς τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀφικόμην,1 40 άρξομαι περί των κοινών αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἡσυχία ἐβεβιώκει, τάχ ầν ἀνέλεγκτου 2 την ἀρετήν ἔσχεν νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐξηθείς, καὶ μέγιστος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν καθ' έαυτον ανθρώπων αλλα και των αλλων απάντων των τι δυνηθέντων γενόμενος, έκπρεπέστερον 2 αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο.3 ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ σχεδόν τι πάντας αὕτη ή εξουσία διήλεγξε, τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ μαλλον εξέφηνε. τῷ γὰρ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρετῆς άντιπάλους πράξεις λαβών ἰσοστάσιος αὐταίς ηθρέθη, καλ μόνος ανθρώπων τηλικαύτην αθτώ τύχην έξ ανδραγαθίας κτησάμενος οὔτε διέβαλεν 3 αὐτὴν οὐθ' ΰβρισεν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως στρατευόμενος έλαμπρύνετο, ή ὅσα ἐν ταῖς έγκυκλίοις λειτουργίαις έμεγαλοφρονήσατο, παραλείψω, καίπερ τοσαθτα όντα ώστ' άλλφ τινί καὶ πάνυ αν ές ἔπαινον έξαρκέσαι προς γάρ τοι την επιφάνειαν των μετα ταθτα αθτοθ έργων σμικρολογείσθαι δόξω, αν και έκεινα άκριβώς ἐπεξίω· ὅσα δὲ δὴ ἄρχων ⁴ ὑμῶν ἔπραξε, ταῦτ'

¹ ἀφικόμην R. Steph , ἀφίκομαι LM cod. Peir.

² τάχ' ἃν ἀνέλεγκτον L, τάχ' ἃν ἀνανέλεγκτον Μ, τάχα ἀνέλεγκτον cod. Peir.

 ³ ἐπεδείξατο Bk., ἀπεδείξατο LM cod. Peir.
 ⁴ ἄρχων R. Steph., ὁ ἄρχων LM cod. Peir.

inexorable even to his enemies, but let off scot-free 6.0. 44 many of those who had come into collision with him personally and released many who had actually made war against him, even giving some of them honours and offices. So strong a natural bent had he toward virtue, and not only had no vice himself, but would not believe that it existed in anybody else.

"And since I have reached this topic, I will begin to speak about his public services. If he had lived in quiet retirement, perhaps his virtue would not have been clearly proved; but as it was, by being raised to the highest position and becoming the greatest not only of his contemporaries but of all others who ever wielded any power, he displayed it more conspicuously. For in the case of nearly all the others this authority had served only to reveal their weakness, but him it made more illustrious, since by reason of the greatness of his virtue he undertook correspondingly great deeds, and was found to be equal to them; he alone of men after obtaining for himself so great good fortune as a result of his nobility of character neither disgraced it nor treated it wantonly. I shall pass over, then, the brilliant successes which he regularly achieved in his campaigns and the high-mindedness he showed in his ordinary public services, although they were so great that for any other man they would warrant high praise; for, in view of the distinction of his subsequent deeds, I shall seem to be dealing in trivialities, if I also rehearse these scrupulously. I shall therefore only mention his achievements

4 ἐρῶ μόνα. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς διηγήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξικέσθαι ποτ' ἂν αὐτῶν δυνηθείην, καὶ πάμπολυν ἂν ὑμῖν ὄχλον ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδόσι ταῦτα παράσγοιμι.

" Ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὖτος πρῶτον μὲν πάντων στρα-47 τηγήσας έν Ἰβηρία, καὶ ὕπουλον αὐτὴν εύρών, οὐ περιείδε σφας ύπο τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης ονόματι ἀναντα-γωνίστους γιγνομένους, οὐδ' είλετο αὐτὸς 1 ἐν ήσυχία τον της άρχης χρόνον διαγενεσθαι μαλλον ή τὰ κοινη συμφέροντα πράξαι, άλλ' ἐπειδήπερ έκόντες ου μετεμέλοντο, και άκοντάς σφας έσω-2 φρόνισεν, ώστε καὶ τοὺς πρότερόν ποτε εὐδοκιμήσαντας κατ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι ὅσον τὸ Φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον έστι, καὶ τὸ μηδ' αθθίς ποτε νεωτερίσαι τινάς δυνηθηναι έξεργάσασθαι τοῦ την άρχην υπηκόους αὐτούς, ἀκεραίου της δυνάμεώς σφισιν οὔσης, 3 ποιήσασθαι λυσιτελέστερον. τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὰ έπινίκια αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ τὴν άρχὴν τὴν ὕπατον εἰθὺς ἐδώκατε. ἐξ οὖ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη τοῦθ, ὅτι οὕτε ἐπιθυμίας οὕτε εὐκλείας οἰκείας ἕνεκα τόν τε πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ παρέσκευάζετο. 4 παριδών γοῦν² τὴν πέμψιν³ τῶν νικητηρίων διὰ τὸ τὰ πράγματα κατεπείγειν, καὶ χάριν μὲν ὑμῖν της τιμης γνούς, άρκεσθείς δε αὐτη έκείνη προς

την δόξαν, ὑπάτευσε. 2 " Καὶ ὅσα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῆ πόλει διώκησεν, ἢ μυρία ἂν εἴη λέγειν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἔκ τε ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαλα-

¹ αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτὸ LM cod Peir. 2 γοῦν Bk., οὖν LM cod. Peir.

³ πέμψιν R. Steph., μέμψιν LM cod. Peir.

while he was your magistrate. Yet I shall not even BC. 41 relate all these with scrupulous detail, for I could never get to the end of them, and I should cause you excessive weariness, particularly since you already know them.

"First of all, then, this man was practor in Spain, and finding it secretly disloyal, did not allow the inhabitants under the name of peace to become unconquerable, nor was it his own choice to spend the period of his governorship in quiet instead of accomplishing what was for the advantage of the state. Hence, since they would not willingly change their course, he brought them to their senses against their will, and in doing this he surpassed the men who had previously won glory against them in just so far as keeping a thing is more difficult than acquiring it, and reducing men to a condition where they can never again become rebellious is more profitable than making them subject in the first place, while their power is still undiminished. That is the reason why you voted him a triumph for this and immediately gave him the office of consul. Indeed, from this very circumstance it became most evident that he had waged that war, not for his own pleasure or glory, but as a preparation for the future. At all events he waived the celebration of the triumph because of the business that was pressing, and after thanking you for the honour he was content with that alone for his glory, and entered upon the consulship.

"Now all his administrative acts in the city during his tenure of that office would verily be countless to name But as soon as he had ended it and had been

τικόν πόλεμον ἐστάλη, θεωρήσατε ὅσα αὖ καὶ 2 ήλίκα ἐνταῦθα κατειργάσατο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συμμάχοις οὐχ ὅπως βαρὺς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεβοήθησεν, έπειδη μήτε τι αὐτοὺς ὑπώπτευσε καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀδικουμένους εἶδε τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολεμίους, ούχ ὅτι τους προσοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς άλλα και τους άλλους πάντας τους την Γαλατίαν νέμοντας, κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν χώραν παμπληθή τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀναριθμήτους, ων οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ήδειμεν, προσεκτή-3 σατο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα, μήτε δύναμιν άξιόχρεων μήτε 1 χρήματα αὐτάρκη παρ' ὑμῶν λαβών, ούτω μεν ταχέως κατέπραξεν ώστε καὶ πρίν αἰσθέσθαι τινὰ ὑμῶν ὅτι πολεμεῖ νενικηκέναι, ούτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς κατεστήσατο ὥστε 2 καὶ ἐπιβατην ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ την Κελτικην καὶ την 4 Βοεττανίαν ποιήσαι. καὶ νῦν δεδούλωται μὲν Γαλατία ή τούς τε "Αμβρονας 3 καὶ τοὺς Κίμβρους έφ' ήμας αποστείλασα, καὶ γεωργείται πάσα ώσπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἰταλία, πλεῖται δὲ οὐ Ῥοδανὸς ἔτι μόνος οὐδ Ἄραρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μόσας καὶ Λίγρος καὶ 'Ρηνος αὐτὸς καὶ ἀκεανὸς αὐτός. 5 ὧν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀκούοντες ἐπιστεύομεν αὐτὰ εἶναι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν προσκατείργασται, έμβατὰ μὲν τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα, πλωτὰ δὲ τὰ πρὶν άδιερεύνητα ἀπό τε τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ ἀπὸ 43 της μεγαλογνωμοσύνης ποιήσας. και είγε μη Φθονήσαντες αὐτῶ τινες, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐστασιά-

μήτε St., μηδὲ LM cod. Peir.
 ὅστε cod. Peir., καὶ ὅστε LM.

^{3 &}quot;Αμβρονας LM, αμβρωνας cod. Peir.

sent to conduct this war against the Gauls, observe B.C. 44 how many and how great were his achievements there. So far from becoming a burden to our allies, he even went to their assistance, because he was not at all suspicious of them and saw, moreover, that they were being wronged. But our foes, both those who dwelt near the friendly tribes, and all the rest who inhabited Gaul, he subjugated, acquiring, on the one hand, vast stretches of territory, and on the other. numberless cities of which we knew not even the names before. All this, moreover, he accomplished so quickly, though he had received neither a competent force nor sufficient money from you, that before any of you knew that he was at war, he had conquered; and he settled affairs on so firm a basis as to make these places stepping-stones to Germany and to Britain. So now Gaul is enslaved, which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is all under cultivation like Italy itself; and ships sail not only the Rhone and the Arar, but the Mosa, the Liger, the very Rhine, and very ocean itself. Places of which we had not even heard the names, to lead us to think that they existed, he likewise subdued for us; the formerly unknown he made accessible, the formerly unexplored he made navigable, by the greatness of his purpose and the greatness of his resolution. And had not certain persons in their envy of him, or rather of you, begun a revolt and

κεσαν, καὶ δεῦρο αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ ἐπανελθεῖν ἡναγκάκεσαν.¹ πάντως ἂν καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὅλην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων τῶν περικειμένων ² αὐτῆ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν πᾶσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἀρκτικοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκεχείρωτο, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς ὅρους μὴ γῆν μηδ' ἀνθρώπους τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ ² ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἔχειν. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὁρῶντες τό τε μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄρξαι αὐτῷ προσετάξατε· ὅπερ, ἀφ' οὖ ἐδημοκρατήθημεν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλφ ὑπῆρξε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς ἡγεμονεῦσαι. οὕτως αὐτὸν πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ὄντως προσκτᾶσθαι ἐνομίσατε, καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐξηθήσεσθαι ὑπωπτεύσατε.

3 "'Αλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μακρότατον αὐτὸν ἐγχρονίσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐπεθυμήσατε· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν μηκέτι κοινὴν ἀλλ' ἰδίαν αὐτῶν³ νομίζοντες εἶναι σὔτε τούτφ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψασθαι οὔθ' ὑμῶν πάντων αὐτῶν κυριεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ τῆ ἀσχολία αὐτοῦ ἀποχρησάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ⁴ ἀνόσια ἐτόλμησαν, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς⁵ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας 44 δεηθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν τὰ προκείμενα ταχέως ὑμῖν ἐπεκούρησε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρτηθέντων αὐτῆ κινδύνων ἢλευθέρωσε, καὶ προσέτι τήν τε 'Ιβηρίαν ἀλλο-

¹ ηναγκάκεσαν Βκ., ηνάγκασαν LM.

 ² περικειμένων M cod. Peir., προκειμένων L.
 ³ αδτῶν Reim, αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτὴν LM cod Peir.

⁴ πολλά καὶ Βk., καὶ πολλά LM cod. Peir.

⁵ ὑμᾶs R. Steph., ἡμᾶs LM cod. Peir.

forced him to return here before the proper time, he B.C.44 would certainly have subdued all Britain together with the other islands which surround it and all Germany to the Arctic Ocean, so that we should have had as our boundaries for the future, not land or people, but the air and the outer sea. For these reasons you also, beholding the greatness of his purpose, his deeds, and his good fortune, assigned him the right to hold office for a very long period,—a privilege which, from the time that we became a republic, no other man has enjoyed,—I mean holding the command during eight 1 whole years in succession. So fully did you believe that it was really for your sake he was making all these conquests and so far were you from ever suspecting that he would grow powerful to your hurt.

"Nay, you desired that he should tarry in those regions as long as possible. He was prevented, however, by those who regarded the government as belonging no longer to the public but as their own private property, from subjugating the remaining countries, and you were kept from becoming masters of them all; for these men, making an evil use of the opportunity afforded by his being occupied, ventured upon many impious projects, so that you came to require his aid. Therefore, abandoning the victories within his grasp, he quickly came to your assistance, freed all Italy from the dangers which threatened it, and furthermore won back Spain, which was being estranged. Then,

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¹ See xxxix. 33 and note.

τριουμένην ἐκομίσατο, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τήν τε πατρίδα καταλιπόντα καὶ βασιλείαν ίδίαν έν 2 Μακεδονία κατασκευάζοντα, καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα τὰ ὑμέτερα ἀγαθὰ μεταφέροντα, τούς τε ὑπηκόους ύμων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς συσκευαζόμενον καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ύμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς χρώμενον ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεισαί πως ήθέλησε, και ίδία και κοινή προσπέμπων, παύσασθαι καὶ μεταθέσθαι, πίστεις λαβόντα μεγίστας η μην έν τοις ίσοις καὶ όμοίοις 2 3 αὖθις αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδένα τρόπον ήδυνήθη τοῦτο ποιήσαι, άλλ' ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῷ ύπάρξασαν ύπερβας αντιπολεμείν ύμιν είλετο, ούτω δη καταναγκασθείς του έμφυλίου πολέμου προσάψασθαι τί μεν δει λέγειν δος εὐτόλμως ἐπ' 4 αὐτόν, καίπερ χειμῶνος ὄντος, ἔπλευσε, τί δὲ ὡς εὐθαρσῶς αὐτῷ, καίτοι πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία 4 έχοντι, συνέμιξε, τί δὲ ὡς ἀνδρικῶς αὐτοῦ, καίπερ πολύ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν έλαττούμενος, έκράτησεν; αν γάρ τις καθ' έκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐθελήση, παίδα ἂν ἀποδείξειε τὸν θαυμαστον έκεινου Πομπήιου ούτως έν πασιν αὐτοῖς κατεστρατηγήθη.

5 "'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐἀσω· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσεμνύνατό ποτε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, μισῶν ἀεὶ τὰ ⁵ τῆς ἀνάγκης· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιότατα τὴν μάχην ἔκρινε, τίνα μὲν τῶν τότε πρῶτον ἀλόντων ἀπέκτεινε, τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι

¹ παύσασθαι Η Steph., παύσεσθαι LM cod. Peir.

² καὶ δμοίοις Rk., δμοίως LM cod. Peir.

³ δεί λέγειν R. Steph., διαλέγειν LM, δη λέγειν cod. Peir.

⁴ ἐκεῖ χωρία Pflugk, ἐπιχώρια LM cod. Peir.
5 ἀεὶ τὰ Kubler, αὐτὰ LM, αὖ τὰ cod. Peir.

when he saw that Pompey, who had abandoned his BC 44 country and was setting up a kingdom of his own in Macedonia, was transferring thither all your possessions, equipping your subjects against you, and using your own money against you, he at first wished to persuade him somehow to stop and change his course, sending mediators to him both privately and publicly and offering the most solemn pledges that he should again attain an equal and like position with himself. When, however, he found himself unable in any way to effect this, but instead Pompey burst all restraints, even the relationship which had existed between himself and Caesar, and chose to fight against you, then at last he was compelled to begin the civil war. But what need is there of relating how daringly he sailed against him in spite of the winter, or how boldly he assailed him, though Pompey held all the strong positions, or how bravely he vanquished him, though much inferior in the number of his troops? Indeed, if one wished to recite the whole story in detail, he could show the renowned Pompey to have been a mere child, so completely was he outgeneralled at every point.

"But all this I will omit, since not even Caesar himself ever took any pride in it, always hating, as he did, the deeds enforced by necessity. But when Heaven had most justly decided the issue of the battle, whom of those then captured for the first time did he put to death? Whom, rather, did he

τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τῶν ἱππέων ἢ καὶ ὅλως τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπη-2 κόων; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων τις οὕτ' ἀπέθανε Βιαίως οὔτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, οὖκ ἰδιώτης, οὖ βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐ πόλις ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ συνεξητάσθησαν αὐτῷ, οί δὲ τὴν γοῦν ἄδειαν ἐντίμως έσχου, ώστε τότε δη καὶ πάντας οδύρεσθαι των 3 ἀπολωλότων. τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσία φιλανθρωπίας έχρήσατο ώστε τοὺς μὲν συναραμένους τῷ Πομπηίω ἐπαινέσαι καὶ πάντα σφίσι τὰ δοθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φυλάξαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ ¹ Φαρνάκην καὶ τὸν 'Ορώδην μισησαι ότι οὐκ ἐπεκούρησαν φίλοι 4 αὐτοῦ ὄντες. και διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ μεν ούκ ες μακράν επολέμησε, τῷ δὲ επιστρατεύσειν ἔμελλε. πάντως δ' αν καὶ . . . 2 ζῶντα εἰλήφει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι μήτε εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἴασε φυγεῖν, καὶ 5 τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἀηδῶς ἤκουσε, τούς τε φονεύσαντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπήνεσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταπέκτεινεν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, καὶ αὐτόν γε τδν Πτολεμαίου, ότι καίτοι παίς ων τον εὐεργέτην ἀπολόμενον περιείδε, προσδιέφθειρε.

6 "Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὅπως μὲν τὴν Αἰγυπτον κατεστήσατο, καὶ ὅσα χρήματα ἐκεῖθεν ὑμῖν ἐκόμισε, περιττὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν στρατεύσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην οὐκ ὀλίγα ἤδη τοῦ τε Πόντου καὶ τῆς ᾿Αρμενίας ἔχοντα, προσηγγέλθη τε ἄμα αὐτῷ προσιὼν καὶ ὄφθη παρὼν καὶ συνέβαλεν 2 αὐθημερὸν καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἀφ' ὧνπερ οὐχ ἤκιστα διέδειξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν χείρων ἐν τῆ ᾿Αλεξανδρεία

¹ δη cod. Peir, om. LM.

² Lacuna recognized by Xyl.

not honour, not alone of the senators or knights or B.C. 44 of the citizens in general, but even of the allies and subjects? For no one, even of them, either died a violent death, or was censured,-no civilian, no king, no tribe, no city. On the contrary, some arrayed themselves on his side, and others obtained at least pardon with honour, so that all then lamented the fate of those who had perished. Such exceeding humanity did he show, that he praised those who had cooperated with Pompey and allowed them to keep everything that Pompey had given them, but hated Pharnaces and Orodes, because, though friends of the vanquished, they had not assisted him. It was chiefly for this reason that he not long afterward waged war on Pharnaces and was preparing to conduct a campaign against Orodes. And he certainly [would have spared] even [Pompey himself if] he had captured him alive. A proof of this is that he did not pursue him at once, but allowed him to flee at his leisure. Also he was grieved when he heard of Pompey's death and did not praise his murderers. but put them to death for it soon after, and moreover even destroyed Ptolemy himself, because, though a child, he had allowed his benefactor to perish.

"How after this he brought Egypt to terms and how much money he conveyed to you from there, it would be superfluous to relate. And when he made his campaign against Pharnaces, who already held a considerable part of Pontus and Armenia, he was on one and the same day reported to the king as approaching him, was seen confronting him, engaged him in conflict, and conquered him This better than anything else showed that he had not become weaker in Alexandria and had not

έγένετο, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἐν αὐτῆ ἐνεχρόνισε· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ῥαδίως ἐκεῖνα ἔπραξε μὴ πολλῆ μὲν παρασκευή διανοίας πολλή δε και ρώμη χρώμενος: 3 ώς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔφυγε, παρεσκευάζετο μέν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πάρθον στρατεῦσαι, στασιασάντων δὲ αὖθις ἐνταῦθά τινων ἀνεκομίσθη τε άκων, καὶ ούτως αὖ καὶ ταῦτα διέθετο ώστε 4 μηδ' ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἐταράχθη πιστευθῆναι. οὕτε γὰρ άπέθανεν ούτε έφυνεν, άλλ' οὐδ' ήτιμώθη τὸ παράπαν έξ εκείνων των πραγμάτων ούδείς, ούχ ότι ου δικαιότατα αν πολλοί εκολάσθησαν, αλλ ότι τους μεν πολεμίους άφειδως άπολλύναι τους δὲ δὴ πολίτας σώζειν, κᾶν φαῦλοί τινες ὧσιν, 5 ήγεῖτο δεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆ μὲν ἀνδρεία τοὺς άλλοφύλους κατηγωνίζετο, τῆ δὲ φιλανθρωπία καὶ τοὺς στασιάζοντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καίτοι καὶ άναξίους πολλάκις τούτου γεγονότας άφ' ών έπραττου, διετήρει. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ έν τῆ Αφρική τή τε Ἰβηρία αδθις ἔπραξε, πάντως όσοι μη και πρότερον ποτε άλόντες υπ' 1 αὐτοῦ 6 ηλέηντο 2 άφείς. το μεν γάρ τους πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ ἀεὶ περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ φιλανθρωπίαν ενόμιζε τὸ δὲ εν τοῖς πρώτοις άμαρτήμασι συγγίγνώσκειν τισί, καὶ μήτ' ἀκατάλλακτου όργην έχειν και προσέτι και τιμάς νέμειν, αν δε έν τοις αὐτοις έμμενωσιν, ἀπαλλαγην αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἡγεῖτο 7 είναι. καίτοι τί τοῦτο είπον; πολλούς γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκείνων ἔσωσε, δοὺς τοῖς τε ἑταίροις ἄπασι καὶ τοῖς συννικήσασιν αὐτῶ ἕνα ἑκάστω τῶν άλόντων περιποιήσασθαι.

δπ' R. Steph., ἐπ' LM cod. Peir.
 ἢλέηντο cod. Peir., ἐλέηντο LM.

delayed there out of voluptuousness. For how could B.C. 44 he have won that victory so easily without having great mental vigour in reserve and great physical strength? When now Pharnaces had fled, he was preparing to conduct a campaign at once against the Parthian, but as certain men had begun a strife here he returned reluctantly and settled this dispute, too, so well that no one would believe there had been any disturbance at all. For not a person was killed or exiled or even disgraced in any way as a result of that trouble, not because many might not justly have been punished, but because he thought it right while destroying the enemy unsparingly to preserve the citizens, even if some of them are of little account. by his bravery he overcame foreigners in war, but by his humanity he kept unharmed even the seditious citizens, although many of them by their acts had often shown themselves unworthy of this favour. This same policy he followed again both in Africa and in Spain, releasing all who had not previously been captured and been pitied by him. For while he considered it folly, not humanity, always to spare the lives of those who frequently plotted against him, on the other hand, he thought it the duty of one who was truly a man to pardon opponents on the occasion of their first errors instead of harbouring implacable anger, yes, and even to assign honours to them, but if they clung to their original course, to get rid of them. Yet why do I relate this? Many of these also he spared by allowing all his associates and those who had helped him conquer to save the life of one captive each.

39 I

" Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀπ' ἐμφύτου 47 γρηστότητος, και ούτε προσποιητώς ούτε έπι κατασκευή πλεονεξίας τινός, ὥσπερ ἔτεροι συχνοὶ έφιλανθρωπεύσαντό τινα, έπραξε, μέγιστον μέν καὶ ἐκεῖνο μαρτύριον ἐστιν, ὅτι πανταγοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων δμοιος έγενετο και ούτ' οργή τις αὐτον ηγρίανεν ούτε εὐπραγία διέφθειρεν, οὐ τὸ κράτος 2 ηλλοίωσεν, οὐχ ή έξουσία μετέβαλεν. καίτοι γαλεπώτατον έν τοις 1 τοσούτοις και τοιούτοις και προσέτι καὶ ἐπαλλήλοις πράγμασιν ἐξετασθέντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατωρθωκότα τὰ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτ' έχοντα τὰ δ' ὑποπτεύοντα, χρηστόν τε ² ἀεὶ δι' ίσου γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδέν τραχύ μηδέ δεινόν, εἰ καὶ μη πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν παρεληλυθότων, άλλὰ πρός γε 3 φυλακὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐθελῆσαι ποιῆ-3 σαι. ίκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριῶσαί ἐστιν οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἔφυ ώστε εν μόνον ηπίστατο, σώζειν τούς γε σώζεσθαι δυναμένους προσέτι δε και εκείνα, ότι τοίς τε αὐτῶ 5 πολεμήσασι τὸ μηδ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς κολασθήναι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐπται-4 κότας ανεκτήσατο. πασι μέν γαρ τοίς μετά τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σερτωρίου γενομένοις ἄδειαν δοθηναι ἐποίησε, πᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου περιλειφθεῖσι την σωτηρίαν ύπάρξαι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετά τοῦτο κατήγαγε, τούς τε παίδας άπάντων τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου θανατωθέντων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ 5 ἀρχῶν ηξίωσεν. καὶ 6 τὸ μέγιστον, πάντα ἁπλῶς

ἐν τοῖs R. Steph , ἐs τοῖs LM.
 χρηστόν τε Μ, χρηστότε L
 γε R. Steph., τε LM.

⁴ eneiva LM, eneivo cod, Peir. ⁵ αὐτῷ LM, ἐαυτῶι cod. Peir. 6 Kal Bk., Kal Tot LM cod. Petr.

"That he did all this, moreover, from inherent 8, c. 44 goodness and not for appearances or to reap any advantage, as many others have displayed humaneness, there is this further very strong evidence, that everywhere and in all circumstances he showed himself the same: anger did not brutalize him, nor good fortune corrupt him; power did not alter, nor authority change him. Yet it is very difficult when tested in so many enterprises of such magnitude, in enterprises, moreover, that follow one another in rapid succession, when one has been successful in some, is still engaged in conducting others, and only surmises that others are yet to come, to prove equally good on all occasions and to refrain from wishing to do anything harsh or terrible, if not out of vengeance for the past, at least as a measure of safeguard for the future. This alone is enough to prove his goodness; for he was so truly a scion of gods that he understood but one thing, to save those who could be saved. But there is also this further evidence, that he took care not to have those who warred against him punished even by anyone else, and that he won back those who had met with misfortune earlier. For he caused amnesty to be granted to all who had been followers of Lepidus and Sertorius, and next arranged that safety should be afforded to all the survivors of those whom Sulla had proscribed; somewhat later he brought them home from exile and bestowed honours and offices upon the sons of all who had been slain by Sulla. Greatest of all, he burned absolutely all the secret

τὰ γράμματα ὅσα ἢ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἢ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὐρέθη κατέκαυσε, μήτ ἀναγνούς τι αὐτῶν μήτε τηρήσας, ἵνα μηδ' ι ἄλλφ τινὶ πονηρευθῆναί τι δι' αὐτὰ ἐγγένηται. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως οὐκ εἶπε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπραξε, δηλοῦ τὰ ἔργα οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαθέ τι δεινόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ε ἐφοβήθη. οὔκουν οὐδ' οἶδεν οὐδεὶς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένους ὅπλὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι παραδοξότατον καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχον, ὅτι τε ἀφείθησαν πρὶν αἰτιαθῆναι καὶ ὅτι ἐσώθησαν πρὶν κινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ

περιποιήσας σφᾶς ἔμαθεν οὺς ἢλέησε.
48 "Καὶ γάρ τοι διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε,* μεγάλα μὲν αὐτὰ καθ ἑαυτὰ ὄντα, παρὰ μικρὸν δ' ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα νομισθέντα, ἃ οὐ χρὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, καὶ ἐφι-

λήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἦγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην, τιμαῖς τε οἴαις οὐδένα ἄλλον ἦγήλατε, 2 καὶ προστάτην διατελῆ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἔχειν ἐπεθυμήσατε, μηδὲν περὶ τῶν

άρχης ἀπάσης ἔχειν ἐπεθυμήσατε, μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ονομάτων διενεχθέντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἐλάττονα αὐτοῦ προσθέντες, ἵν' ὅσον καθ' ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομιζομένου πρὸς τὸ τελειότατον καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνέδει, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντελείας ἀντανα-

3 πληρωθή. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ὕπατος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ

μηδ' Βκ., μήτ' LM cod. Peir.
 οὐδ' St., οὕτ' LM cod. Peir.

³ περιγενομένους Leuncl., περί γένους LM cod. Peir.

⁴ ενομοθέτησε και επηνώρθωσε cod Peir., ενομοθέτησεν επηνώρθωσε LM.

documents found in the tent of either Pompey or Bc 44 Scipio, neither reading nor yet keeping any of them, in order that no one else any more than he himself And that should use them for mischievous ends this was not only what he said he had done, but what he actually did, the facts show clearly; at any rate, no one as a result of those letters was even frightened, much less suffered any harm. Hence no one even knows those who escaped this danger except the men themselves. This is a most astonishing fact and one without a parallel, that they were spared before they were accused and saved before they encountered danger, and that not even he who saved their lives learned who it was he pitied.

"For these and for all his other acts of legislation and reconstruction, great in themselves, but likely to be deemed small in comparison with those others which I need not recount in detail, you loved him as a father and cherished him as a benefactor, you exalted him with such honours as you bestowed on no one else and desired him to be continual head of the city and of the whole domain. You did not quarrel at all about titles, but applied them all to him, feeling that they were madequate to his merits, and desiring that whatever each of them, in the light of customary usage, lacked of being a complete expression of honour and authority might be supplied by what the rest contributed. Therefore, for the gods he was appointed high priest,

πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ τί ταῦτ' ἐξαριθμοῦμαι, ὁπότε καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἑνὶ λόγ ϕ^1 τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεκαλέσατε; 2 ἵνα μὴ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ προσ-

ηγορίας καταλέγω.

"''Αλλ' οὖτος ὁ πατήρ, οὖτος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ άσυλος ο ήρως ο θεος τέθνηκεν, οίμοι, τέθνηκεν οὐ νόσφ βιασθείς, οὐδὲ γήρα μαρανθείς, οὐδὲ ἔξω που έν πολέμω τινὶ τρωθείς, οὐδὲ ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς αὐτομάτως άρπασθείς, ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείνους ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὁ καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν 2 ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῆ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεὶς δ καὶ τὸ πωμήριον αὐτῆς ἐπαυξήσας, ἐν τῷ βουλευ-τηρίφ κατασφαγεὶς ὁ καὶ ἴδιον ἄλλο κατασκευάσας, ἄοπλος ὁ εὐπόλεμος, γυμνὸς ὁ εἰρηνοπρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὁ δικαστής, πρός ταίς άρχαίς ό άρχων, ύπο των πολιτών δυ μηδείς τῶν πολεμίων μηδ' ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εκπεσόντα άποκτείναι ήδυνήθη, ούπδ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσας. τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ 3 ποῦ δῆτά σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἀσυλία, ποῦ δὲ οἱ νόμοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, όπως μηδ' ύπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις φονεύηται, πολλὰ ένομοθέτησας, σε δε ούτως οίκτρως απέκτειναν οί φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἔν τε τῆ ἀγορὰ πρόκεισαι ἐσφαγμένος, δι' ής πολλάκις ἐπόμπευσας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρριψαι κατατετρω-4 μένος, ἀφ' οῦ πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησας. οἴμοι πολιών ήματωμένων, ὢ στολής ἐσπαραγμένης, ἡν

¹ ένλ λόγφ Rk., έν δλίγωι LM. 2 έπεκαλέσατε Μ, έπεκαλέσατο L.

³ άρπασθεὶs Reim. (so Zon. BCo), άρπαχθεὶs LM Zon. AD.

for us consul, for the soldiers imperator, and for the BC44 enemy dictator. But why do I enumerate these details, when in one phrase you called him father of his country—not to mention the rest of his titles?

"Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force, but right here within the walls as the result of a plot —the man who had safely led an army into Britain; ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged its pomerium; murdered in the senate-house-the man who had reared another such edifice at his own expense; unarmed—the brave warrior; defenceless-the promoter of peace; the judge-beside the court of justice; the magistrate-beside the seat of government; at the hands of the citizens—he whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea; at the hands of his comrades—he who had often taken pity on them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity, of what avail your inviolability, of what avail the laws? Nay, though you enacted many laws that men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your friends! And now, the victim of assassination, vou lie dead in the Forum through which you often led the triumph crowned; wounded to death, you have been cast down upon the rostra from which you often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-bespattered locks of gray, alas for the

έπὶ τούτω μόνον, ώς ἔοικεν, ἔλαβες, ἵν' ἐν ταύτη

σφαγῆς.

Τοιαθτα τοθ 'Αντωνίου λέγοντος ο δήμος τὰ 50 μεν πρώτα ήρεθίζετο, έπειτα δε ωργίζετο, καί τέλος ουτως έφλεγμηνεν ώστε τούς τε 1 φονέας αὐτοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, ότι οί μεν απέκτειναν οί δε επείδον αποθνήσκοντα άνδρα ύπερ οδ δημοσία κατ' έτος εύχεσθαι έψηφίσαντο, καὶ οδ τήν τε ύγίειαν τήν τε τύχην ώμνυσαν, καὶ δν έξ ἴσου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄσυλον 2 έπεποιήκεσαν. κάκ τούτου τό τε σωμα αὐτοῦ άρπάσαντες οί μεν ές το οἴκημα έν ιδ ἀπέσφακτο, οί δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσαι τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ έκει καθσαι, κωλυθέντες δε ύπο των στρατιωτών φόβω τοῦ μη καὶ τὸ θέατρον τούς τε ναοὺς συγκαταπρησθήναι, αὐτοῦ ἐν τὴ ἀγορᾳ, ὥσπερ 3 εἶχον,² ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκαν. πολλὰ δ' αν καὶως των πέριξ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐφθάρη, εἰ μὴ οἵ τε στρατιώται έμποδών έγένοντο καί τινας τών θρασυτέρων οἱ ὕπατοι κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρών ἔωσαν.³ οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο δίὰ 4 τοῦτο οἱ λοιποὶ ταραττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπί τε τὰς οικίας των σφαγέων ωρμησαν, και άλλους τε έν τούτω καὶ Ελούιον Κίνναν δημαρχοῦντα μάτην ου γαρ όπως ἐπεβούλευσε ἀπέκτειναν: Καίσαρι, άλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ηγάπα. ἐπλανήθησαν δὲ ὅτι Κορνήλιος Κίννας ὁ 51 στρατηγός συμμετέσχε της έπιθέσεως. καὶ μετά τοῦτο ἀπειπόντων τῶν ὑπάτων μηδένα ἔξω τῶν στρατιωτών ένοπλον είναι, των μέν φόνων απέ-

τε Βk., μèν LM.
 εἶχον Xyl., εἶπον LM.
 ἔωσαν Dind., ὤσαν L, ὧσαν Μ.

rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that B.C. 44 you might be slain in it!"

At this deliverance of Antony's the throng was at first excited, then enraged, and finally so inflamed with passion that they sought his murderers and reproached the other senators, because while the others had slain they had looked on at the death of a man on whose behalf they had voted to offer public prayers each year, by whose Health and Fortune they had sworn their oaths, whose person they had made as inviolable as the tribunes. Then, seizing his body, some wished to convey it to the room in which he had been slaughtered, and others to the Capitol, and to burn it there; but being prevented by the soldiers, who feared that the theatre and temples would be burned to the ground at the same time, they placed it upon a pyre there in the Forum, without further ado. Even so, many of the surrounding buildings would have been destroyed had not the soldiers prevented and had not the consuls thrust some of the bolder ones over the cliffs of the Capitoline. For all that, the rest did not cease their disturbance, but rushed to the houses of the assassins, and during the excitement killed, among others, Helvius Cinna, a tribune, without just cause; for this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their mistake was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, had taken part in the attack. After this, when the consuls forbade any one except the soldiers to carry arms, they

σχοντο, βωμὸν δέ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίω ίδρυσάμενοι (τὰ γὰρ ὀστᾶ¹ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι προανείλοντο καὶ ές τὸ πατρῷον μνημεῖον κατέθεντο) θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ 2 Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ οὖν ὕπατοι έκεινόν τε ανέτρεψαν, καί τινας αγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτω ἐκόλασαν, καὶ νόμον ἐξέθηκαν² μηδένα αδθις δικτάτορα γενέσθαι, άράς τε ποιησάμενοι καὶ θάνατον προειπόντες ἄν τέ 3 τις ἐσηγήσηται τοῦτο ἄν θ' ὑποστῆ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα 3 αὐτοῖς ἄντικρυς ἐπικηρύξαντες. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ έπειτα προείδοντο, δοπερ έν τοις ονόμασι της των έργων δεινότητος ούσης, άλλ' οὐκ έκ των δπλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστου τρόπων καὶ γιγνομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἐν ἡ ποτ αν 4 τύχη δρώμενα, προσρήσεις ⁵ διαβαλλόντων· ἐν δὲ τῶ τότε παρόντι τούς τε κληρούχους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προκεχειρισμένους ές τὰς ἀποικίας εὐθύς, μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι, ἔστειλαν, καὶ τῶν σφαγέων τοὺς μὲν ἄρξαι τινῶν εἰληχότας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλον ἄλλοσε ἐπὶ προφάσει τινὶ ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτούς ὡς καὶ εὐεργέτας σφων πολλοί ἐτίμησαν.

52 ΄Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ μετήλλαξε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔν τε τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου οἰκοδομήματι καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδριάντι αὐτοῦ τῷ τότε ἐκεῖ ἑστῶτι ἐσφάγη, ἔδοξέ τινα τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ⁶ ὅτι καὶ βρονταὶ ἄπλετοι καὶ ὑετὸς λάβρος

¹ δστᾶ supplied by Leuncl.

² ἐξέθηκαν Bk., ἐπέθηκαν LM.
³
⁴ προείδοντο Bk., προέδοντες LM.

⁵ προσρήσεις Xiph., προσρήσει LM.

 $^{^{3}}$ $\tau\epsilon$ supplied by Rk.

⁶ nal added by Bk.

BOOK XLIV

reframed from bloodshed, but set up an altar on BC. 44 the site of the pyre (for the freedmen of Caesar had previously taken up his bones and deposited them in the family tomb), and undertook to sacrifice upon it and to offer victims to Caesar, as to a god. consuls overthrew this altar and punished some who showed displeasure at the act, at the same time publishing a law that no one should ever again be dictator and invoking curses and proclaiming death as the penalty upon any man who should propose or support such a measure, besides openly setting a price upon the heads of any such. This provision they made for the future, assuming that the shamefulness of men's deeds consists in the titles they bear, whereas these deeds really arise from their possession of armed forces and from the character of the individual incumbent of the office, and disgrace the titles of authority under which they chance to occur; but for the time being they sent out immediately to the colonies such as held allotments of land already assigned by Caesar, out of fear that they might begin an uprising, while of the assassins they sent out those who had obtained governorships to the provinces, and the rest to various places on one pretext or another; and these men were honoured by many as their benefactors.

In this way Caesar met his end. And inasmuch as he had been slam in Pompey's edifice and near his statue which at that time stood there, he seemed in a way to have afforded his rival his revenge, especially as tremendous thunder and a furious rain

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έπεγένετο. έν δ' οὖν τῷ θορύβω ἐκείνω καὶ τοιόνδε τι οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης συνηνέχθη. 2 Γάιος γάρ τις Κάσκας δημαρχών, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ὁ Κίννας έκ της πρός τον στρατηγον ομωνυμίας ἀπώλετο, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθάνη, ὅτι Πούπλιος Σερουίλιος Κάσκας έκ τε τῶν δημάρχων 3 καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων ἢν, καὶ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε τήν τε κοινωνίαν σφών έκ τής μιας προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν διαφοράν τῆς γνώμης δηλών. καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέτερος δεινὸν οὐδέν (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερουίλιος ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο), λόγον δὲ δή τινα ό Γάιος, ώστε καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο,

ἔσγεν.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πρός τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρὸς 53 τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ 'Αντώνιος, καίτοι μὴ βουληθεὶς ¹ τὰ πρῶτα ἐς τὴν άργην ώς οὐδέπω καθήκουσάν οἱ προσλαβεῖν. 2 ομως προσέθετο, δείσας μὴ στασιάση. ώς μέντοι ο τε θόρυβος κατέστη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀντώνιος τό τε έξετάσαι τὰ διοικηθέντα ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὸ ² πάντα τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῶ ποιῆσαι ἐπετράπη. οὐκέτ' ἐσωφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐγκρατής τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπήλειψε πολλά δὲ καὶ 3 ἀντενέγραψεν, ἄλλα τε 3 καὶ νόμους. καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀρχὰς τὰς μὲν ἀφείλετό τινων τὰς δὲ ἔδωκεν ἄλλοις, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου δὴ γραμμάτων 4 αὐτὰ ποιῶν. κάκ τούτου συχνὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ήρπασε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ίδιωτῶν τῶν τε δήμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

¹ μη βουληθείς Xyl., μη φοβηθείς LM.

τὸ R. Steph., ὅτι LM.
 ὁ καὶ cod. Peir.,
 ὁ ἡ γςαμμάτων Bk., διαγραμμάτων LM cod. Peir. 3 καl cod. Peir., om. LM.

followed. In the midst of that excitement there also took place the following incident, not unworthy of mention. One Gaius Casca, a tribune, seeing that Cinna had perished as a result of his cognomen being the same as the praetor's, and fearing that he too might be killed, because Publius Servilius Casca was one of the tribunes and also one of the assassins, issued a statement which showed that they had in common only the single name and pointed out the difference in their sentiments. Neither of them suffered any harm, as Servilius was strongly guarded; but Gaius gained some notoriety, so that he is remembered for this act.

These were the actions of the consuls and of the others at that time. I say consuls, for Antony, fearing that Dolabella would head a revolt, took him as his colleague in the consulship, although he was at first not disposed to do so, on the ground that the office did not yet belong to him. When, however, the excitement subsided, and Antony himself was charged with the duty of investigating the acts of Caesar's administration and carrying out all his behests, he no longer acted with moderation. but as soon as he had got hold of the dead man's papers, made many erasures and many substitutions, inserting laws as well as other matters. Moreover, he deprived some of money and offices, which in turn he gave to others, pretending that in doing so he was carrying out Caesar's directions. Next he seized large sums of money there in Rome, and collected large sums also from private persons, communities,

ήργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, 4 άλλοις πολιτείαν, άλλοις ατέλειαν πωλών, καίτοι της βουλης το μέν πρώτον ψηφισαμένης μηδεμίαν στήλην ώς καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγεγραφότος τι άνατεθήναι (ές γάρ στήλας χαλκάς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσεγράφετο), ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐνέκειτο λέγων πολλά καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προβεβουλεθσθαι, κελευσάσης πάντας τους πρώτους 5 κοινή αὐτὰ διακρίναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε τι τούτων ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν τοῦ μὲν 1 'Οκταουίου ἄτε καὶ μειρακίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείρου, τήν τε κληρονομίαν ώς καὶ 2 χαλεπὴν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον οὖσαν ἀπωθουμένου, κατεφρόνησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ κληρονόμος οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας της του Καίσαρος ών πάντα διεχείριζε τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ φυγάδας τινὰς κατήγαγεν. 6 ἐπειδή τε ὁ Λέπιδος ἰσχύν τε μεγάλην εἰχε καὶ φόβον αὐτῷ πολὺν ἐπήρτα, τήν τε θυγατέρα τῷ υίει αὐτοῦ συνώκισε και άρχιερέα αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθηναι παρεσκεύασεν, ίνα μηδεν ων έπραττε 7 πολυπραγμονοίη. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ ῥαδίως αὐτὸ ποιήση, ές τε τοὺς ἱερέας αὖθις ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου την αίρεσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπανήγαγε, κάν τούτοις αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἡ ὀλίγα τῶν νενομισμένων πράξας ετέλεσε, δυνηθείς αν αυτός ιερώσασθαι.

1 μèν supplied by Bk. 2 καl M, om. L.

BOOK XLIV

and kings, selling to some land, to others freedom, to B.C. 44 others citizenship, to others exemption from taxes. And this was in spite of the fact that the senate had voted at first that no tablet should be set up on account of any law alleged to have been framed by Caesar (all such matters were inscribed upon bronze tablets), and that later, when he persisted, declaring that many urgent matters had been provided for by Caesar, it had ordered that all the foremost citizens should jointly determine them. Antony, however, paid no attention to them, and, in a word, despised Octavius, who, as a stripling and inexperienced in business, had declined the inheritance because it was troublesome and hard to manage; and thus he himself, claiming to be the heir not only of the property but also of the power of Caesar, managed everything. One of his acts was to restore some exiles. And since Lepidus had great power and was causing him considerable fear, he gave his daughter in marriage to this leader's son and made arrangements to have Lepidus himself appointed high priest, so as to prevent his meddling with what he himself was doing. In fact, in order to carry out this plan with ease, he transferred the election of the high priest from the people back to the priests, and in company with the latter he consecrated him, performing few or none of the accustomed rites; and yet he might have secured the presthood for himself.

BOOK XLV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περὶ Γαίου 'Οκταουίου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Αὐγούστου ἐπικληθέντος.
- β. Περί Σέξτου Πομπηίου τοῦ Πομπηίου υίέος.
- γ. 'Ως Καΐσαρ καὶ 'Αντώνιος στασιάζειν ήρξαντο.
- δ. 'Ως Κικέρων κατὰ 'Αντωνίου ἐδημηγόρησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τής Γ . Γ . Γιουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε΄ μετὰ Γ Αἰμιλίου Γ Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε΄ μετὰ Γ Γ Μ. ἀντωνίου Γ

'Αντώνιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος ὁ 'Οκτάουιος Καιπίας (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς 'Αττίας 'τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῆς ³ υίὸς ἀνομάζετο) ἢν μὲν ἐξ Οὐελιτρῶν τῶν Οὐολσκίδων, ὀρφανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Οκταουίου τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθεὶς ἐτράφη μὲν παρά τε τῆ μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ⁴ αὐτῆς Λουκίφ Φιλίππφ, αὐξηθεὶς δὲ συνδιέτριβε τῷ 2 Καίσαρι· ἄπαις τε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὢν καὶ μεγάλας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἠγάπα τε καὶ περιεῖπεν αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς τε μοναρχίας διάδοχον καταλείψων, ἄλλως τε καὶ

¹ τη̂s Γ. Bs., ἔτη 🤊 LM

 $^{^2}$ μετὰ M. 'Αντωνίου H. Steph , μ' μετὰ ἀντωνίου LM. There follows in LM the gloss: πατὴρ αὐγούστου ὀκταούιος μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀττία ἡ ἀδελφὴ καίσαρος ὡς εἶναι τὸν αὕγουστον ἀνεψιὸν

BOOK XLV

The following is contained in the Forty-fifth of Dio's Rome:--

About Gaius Octavius, who afterward was named Augustus (chaps. 1-9).

About Sextus, the son of Pompey (chap. 10).

How Caesar and Antony began to quarrel (chaps. 11-17) How Cicero delivered a public speech against Antony (chaps.

18-47).

44 Duration of time, the remainder of the fitth dictatorship of C Iulius Caesar, with M. Aemilius Lepidus as his master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship with Marcus Antonius.

So much for Antony's conduct. Now Gaius Octavius Caepias, as the son of Caesar's niece, Attia, was named, came from Velitrae in the Volscian country; after being bereft of his father Octavius he was brought up in the house of his mother and her husband, Lucius Philippus, but on attaining maturity lived with Caesar. For Caesar, being childless and basing great hopes upon him, loved and cherished him, intending to leave him as successor to his name, authority, and sovereignty. He was

ἀδελφιδῆς Xyl., ἀδελφῆς LM Xiph. Zon.

4 ἀνδρί Χyl., ἀδελφῷ LM Xyl.

louxlou raisages ("the father of Augustus was Octavius, his mother was Attia, sister of Caesar, so that Augustus was nephew of Julius Caesar").

ότι ή 'Αττία δεινώς Ισχυρίζετο έκ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος αὐτὸν κεκυηκέναι, ὅτι καταδαρθοῦσά ποτε ἐν ναῷ αύτου δράκοντί τινι μίγνυσθαι ενόμισε και διά 3 τοῦτο τῷ ἱκνουμένω χρόνω ἔτεκε. πρίν τε ἡ ἐς τὸ φως εξιέναι, έδοξεν όναρ τὰ σπλάγχνα ξαυτής ές τον ουρανον αναφέρεσθαι και έπι πάσαν την γην έπεκτείνεσθαι καὶ τῆ αὐτῆ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ ᾿Οκτάουιος έκ τοῦ αἰδοίου αὐτῆς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν ένόμισεν. ἄρτι τε ό παῖς ἐγεγέννητο, καὶ Νιγίδιος Φίγουλος 1 βουλευτής παραχρήμα αὐτῷ τὴν 4 αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο ἄριστά γὰρ τῶν ² καθ' έαυτον τήν τε τοῦ πόλου διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφοράς, ὅσα τε καθ' ἐαυτοὺς γιγνόμενοι καὶ ὅσα συμμιγνύντες ἀλλήλοις ἔν τε ταῖς όμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν ἀποτελοῦσι, διέγνω, και κατά τοῦτο και αιτίαν ώς τινας άπορ-5 ρήτους διατριβάς ποιούμενος έσχεν. ούτος ούν τότε τον 'Οκτάουιον βραδύτερον ές το συνέδριον διὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς τόκον (ἔτυχε γὰρ βουλή οὖσα) ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνήρετο διὰ τί ἐβράδυνε, καὶ μαθών την αιτίαν ανεβόησεν ότι "δεσπότην ημίν εγέννησας," καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκταραχθέντα ἐπὶ τούτφ καὶ διαφθείραι τὸ παιδίον ἐθελήσαντα ἐπέσχεν, εἰπων ότι αδύνατόν έστι τοιοῦτό τι αὐτὸ παθείν. τότε 2 μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐλέχθη, τρεφομένου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξαρπάσας ἄρτον ἐμετεωρίσθη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταπτόμενος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτόν, παιδίσκου τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ 2 την διατριβην έν τη Γρώμη ποιουμένου, έδοξέ ποτε δ Κικέρων ὄναρ άλύσεσί τε αὐτὸν χρυσαῖς

¹ Φίγουλος R. Steph., φίβουλος LM Xiph. Zon.

influenced largely by Attia's emphatic declaration B.G. 41 that the youth had been engendered by Apollo, for while sleeping once in his temple, she said, she thought she had intercourse with a serpent, and it was this that caused her at the end of the allotted time to bear a son. Before he came to the light of day she saw in a dream her entrails lifted to the heavens and spreading out over all the earth; and the same night Octavius thought that the sun rose from her womb. Hardly had the child been born when Nigidius Figulus, a senator, straightway prophesied for him absolute power. This man could distinguish most accurately of his contemporaries the order of the firmament and the differences between the stars, what they accomplish when by themselves and when together, by their conjunctions and by their intervals, and for this reason had incurred the charge of practising some forbidden art. He, then, on this occasion met Octavius, who, on account of the birth of the child, was somewhat late in reaching the senate-house (for there happened to be a meeting of the senate that day), and upon asking him why he was late and learning the cause, he cried out, "You have begotten a master over us" At this Octavius was alarmed and wished to destroy the infant, but Nigidius restrained him, saying that it was impossible for it to suffer any such fate. These things were reported at that time; and while the child was being brought up in the country, an

eagle snatched from his hands a loaf of bread and after soaring aloft flew down and gave it back to him. When he was now a lad and was staying in Rome, Cicero dreamed that the boy had been let

down from the sky by golden chains to the Capitol BC. 44 and had received a whip from Jupiter. He did not know who the boy was, but meeting him the next day on the Capitol itself, he recognized him and told the vision to the bystanders. Catulus, who had likewise never seen Octavius, thought in his sleep that all the noble boys had marched in a solemn procession to Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the course of the ceremony the god had cast what looked like an image of Rome into that boy's lap. Startled at this, he went up to the Capitol to offer prayers to the god, and finding there Octavius, who had gone up for some reason or other, he compared his appearance with the dream and convinced himself of the truth of the vision. When, later, Octavius had grown up and reached maturity and was putting on man's dress, his tunic was rent on both sides from his shoulders and fell to his feet. Now this event in itself not only foreboded no good as an omen, but it also distressed those who were present because it had happened on the occasion of his first putting on man's garb; it occurred, however, to Octavius to say, "I shall have the whole senatorial dignity beneath my feet," and the outcome proved in accordance with his words. Caesar, accordingly, founded great hopes upon him as a result of all this. enrolled him among the patricians, and trained him for the rule, carefully educating him in all the arts that should be possessed by one who was

τηλικοῦτο κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς 8 έξεπαίδευσε· λόγοις τε γὰρ ἡητορικοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι τῆ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆδε τῆ γλώσση, ἡσκεῖτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐρρωμένως ἐξεπονεῖτο, τά τε πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἐδιδάσκετο.

Οὖτος οὖν ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ἔτυχε μὲν τότε, ὅτε δ Καΐσαρ ἐσφάγη, ἐν τῆ ᾿Απολλωνία τῆ ¹ πρὸς τῶ Ἰονίω ὢν κόλπω ἐπὶ παιδεία (κατὰ γὰρ την στρατείαν αὐτοῦ την ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐκεῖσε προεπέπεμπτο²), πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἤλγησε μὲν ὅσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ νεωτερίσαι τι εὐθὺς ἐτόλμησεν οὕτε γὰρ ὅτι υίδς οὐθ' ὅτι κληρονόμος κατελέλειπτο ήκηκόει³ πω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ δημος όμονοῶν ἐπὶ τῷ 2 γεγονότι ήγγέλλετο την πρώτην. περαιωθείς δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, καὶ τάς τε διαθήκας ἄμα καὶ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου τὴν δευτέραν μαθών, οὐκέτ' ἀναβολὰς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτμ καὶ χρήματα πολλά καὶ στρατιώτας συχνούς συμπροπεμφθέντας είχεν, αλλα τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ Καίσαρος παραχρημα ἀνέλαβε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου 4 αὐτὸν διεδέξατο, τῶν τε πραγμάτων εἴχετο. καὶ τότε μέν προπετώς τέ τισι τοῦτο καὶ τολμηρώς πεποιηκέναι έδοξεν, ύστερον δὲ ἔκ τε τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ έξ ὧν ἐπικατώρθωσε καὶ ἀνδρείας ὄνομα 2 προσεκτήσατο. πολλά γαρ ήδη τινές οὐκ ὀρθῶς έπιγειρήσαντες δόξαν, ὅτι ἐπιτυχεῖς αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο, εὐβουλίας ἔσχον· καὶ ἕτεροι ἄριστά τινα

¹ τη Rk., έτι LM Xiph.

προεπέπεμπτο Βk., προσεπέπεμπτο LM.
 ἡκηκόει πω Bk., ἡκηκόει Rk., ἡκηκόητο LM.

destined to direct well and worthily so great a power. 8.0. 44 Thus he was practised in oratory, not only in the Latin language but in the Greek as well, was vigorously trained in military service, and thoroughly instructed in politics and the art of government.

Now this Octavius chanced at the time that Caesar was murdered to be in Apollonia on the Ionic Gulf, pursuing his education; for he had been sent ahead thither in view of Caesar's intended campaign against the Parthians. When he learned what had happened, he was of course grieved, but did not dare to begin a revolution at once; for he had not yet heard that he had been made Caesar's son or even his heir, and moreover the first news he received was to the effect that the people were of one mind in the affair. When, however, he had crossed to Brundisium and had been informed about Caesar's will and the people's second thought, he nade no delay, particularly as he had large sums of money and numerous soldiers who had been sent ahead under his charge, but immediately assumed the name of Caesar, succeeded to his estate, and began to busy himself with public affairs. At the time he seemed to some to have acted recklessly and daringly in this, but later, thanks to his good fortune and the successes he achieved, he acquired a reputation for bravery for this act. For it has often happened that men who were wrong in undertaking some project have gained a reputation for good judgment, because they had the luck to gain their ends; while others, who made the best possible choice, have been

προελόμενοι μωρίαν, ὅτι μὴ κατέτυχον αὐτῶν, 3 ὤφλον.¹ καὶ ἐκεῖνος σφαλερῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ἐποίησεν ὅτι τήν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων ἄγων (ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης γὰρ ἢν) καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴγ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐπαίτιον ὁρῶν οὖσαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα ὥρμησεν ἐφ' οἶς ὅ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπεφόνευτο καὶ τιμωρία οὐδεμία αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οὔτε τοὺς σφαγέας οὔτε τὸν Λέπιδον τόν τε `Αντώνιον ⁴ ἔδεισεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι ἔδοξεν, ὅτι καὶ κατώρθωσε. τὸ μέντοι δαιμόνιον πᾶσαν οὐχ ἀσαφῶς τὴν αὐτόθεν μέλλουσάν σφισι ταραχὴν ἔσεσθαι προεσήμηνεν· ἐς γὰρ τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἶρις πάντα τὸν ἤλιον πολλὴ καὶ ποικίλη περιέσχεν.

5 Οὔτως ὁ πρότερον μὲν² 'Οκτάουιος, τότε δὲ ἤδη Καῖσαρ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Αὔγουστος ἐπικληθεὶς ἡψατο τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κατέπραξε καὶ κατειργάσατο παντὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς νεανικώτερον, παντὸς δὲ πρεσβύτου³ φρονιμώτερον. 2 πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μόνη τῆ τοῦ κλήρου διαδοχῆ, καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων, ἄνευ ὄγκου τινός, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν ἔπειτ' οὕτ' ⁴ ἤπείλει οὐδενὶ οὐδέν, οὔτε ἐνεδείκνυτο ὅτι ἄχθοιτό

τε τοῖς γεγονόσιν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσοιτο.
3 τόν τε 'Αντώνιον οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀπήτει τι τῶν χρημάτων ὧν προηρπάκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθεράπευε, καίτοι καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδικούμενος τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκεῖνος καὶ λόγω

4 οὐτ' Bk., οὐδ' LM.

¹ δφλον Xyl., ωφειλον LM.

δ πρότερον μὲν Βκ., μὲν δ πρότερον LM Xiph.
 πρεσβύτου Βκ., πρεσβυτέρου LM, γέροντος Xiph.

charged with folly because they were not fortunate BC 44 enough to attain their objects. He, too, acted in a precarious and hazardous fashion; for he was only just past boyhood, being eighteen years of age, and saw that his succession to the inheritance and the family was sure to provoke jealousy and censure; yet he set out in pursuit of objects such as had led to Caesar's murder, which had not been avenged, and he feared neither the assassins nor Lepidus and Antony. Nevertheless, he was not thought to have planned badly, because he proved to be successful. Heaven, however, indicated in no obscure manner all the confusion that would result to the Romans from it; for as he was entering Rome a great halo with the colours of the rainbow surrounded the whole sun.

In this way he who was formerly called Octavius, but already by this time Caesar, and subsequently Augustus, took a hand in public affairs; and he menaged and dealt with them more vigorously than any man in his prime, more prudently than any graybeard. In the first place, he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, coming as a private citizen with only a few attendants, without any display. Again, he did not utter threats against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it. Indeed, so far from demanding of Antony any of the money that he had previously plundered, he actually paid court to him, although he was insulted and wronged by him. For Antony did him many injuries both in word and deed,

καὶ ἔργφ αὐτὸν ἐκάκου, καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν φρατριατικον 1 έσφερόμενον, καθ' δυ την έσποίη-σιν αὐτοῦ την ές τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι 4 έδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζε δήθεν ἐσενεγκεῖν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅπως, ὡς μηδέπω παις αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὤν, μήτε τι τῆς οὐσίας πολυπραγμονοίη καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀσθενέστερος 6 εἴη. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤσχαλλε μέν, οὖ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρρησιάσασθαί δυνάμενος ηνείχετο, μέχρις οθ το πλήθος, υφ' οδ τον πατέρα αὐξηθέντα ηπίστατο, προσεποιήόργήν τε γάρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου 2 σατο. θανάτω έχοντας είδως, και ξαυτον ως και παίδα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσειν ελπίσας, τόν τε Αντώνιον διά τε τὴν ἰππαρχίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν σφαγέων οὐ τιμωρίαν μισοῦντας αἰσθόμενος, έπεχείρησε μεν δημαρχήσαι πρός τε την της επεχειρησε μεν δημαρχησαι πρός τε την της δημαγωγίας άφορμην καὶ πρός την ύποδοχην 3 της έξ αὐτης δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κης τοῦ Κίννου χώρας κενης οὕσης ἀντεποιήσατο, κωλυθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν ᾿Αντώνιον οὐχ ήσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ Τιβέριον Καννούτιον δημαρχοῦντα ἀναπείσας ἔς τε τὸν ὅμιλον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη, πρόφασιν την δωρεὰν την καταλειφθείσαν ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ποιησάμενος, καὶ δημηγορήσας ὅσα ἥρμοττε, ταύτην τε εὐθὺς ἐκτίσειν σφίσιν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς² πολλὰ 4 προσεπήλπισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ ᾿Αφροδισίου ἐκποιήσει καταδειχθείσαν, ήν υποδεξάμενοί τινες ζώντος έτι τοῦ

φρατριατικόν R. Steph., φρατρικόν LM.
 αὐτοὺs Rk, αὐτοῦ LM.

BOOK XLV

particularly when the lex curiata was proposed by B G 44 which the transfer of Octavius into Caesar's family was to take place; Antony himself pretended to be doing his best to have it passed, but through some tribunes he kept securing its postponement, in order that the young man, not being as yet Caesar's son according to law, might not meddle with the property and might be weaker in all other ways. Caesar was vexed at this, but as he was unable to speak his mind freely, he bore it until he had won over the multitude, by whom he understood his father had been raised to honour. For he knew that they were angry at Caesar's death and hoped they would be devoted to him as his son, and he perceived that they hated Antony on account of his conduct as master of the horse and also for his failure to punish the assassins. Hence he undertook to become tribune as a starting point for popular leadership and to secure the power that would result from it; and he accordingly became a candidate for the place of Cinna, which was vacant. Though hindered by Antony's followers, he did not desist, and after using persuasion upon Tiberius Cannutius, a tribune, he was by him brought before the populace; and taking as his pretext the gift bequeathed the people by Caesar, he addressed them in appropriate words, promising that he would discharge this debt at once and giving them cause to hope for much besides. After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised

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Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλιγωρία, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων 1 ἱπποδρομίαν, ἐποιοῦντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπεί $_{q}$, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι 5 διέθηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὔτε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος τον επίχρυσον ούτε τον στέφανον τον διάλιθον ες τὸ θέατρον εσήγαγεν ώσπερ εψή-7 φιστο, φοβηθείς του 'Αντώνιου έπεὶ μέντοι άστρον τι παρά πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐκ τῆς ἄρκτου πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐξεφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸ κομήτην τέ τινων καλούντων καλ προσημαίνειν οξά που εἴωθε λεγόντων οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτο μὲν ούκ ἐπίστευον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἀπηθανατισμένω καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστοων άριθμὸν ἐγκατειλεγμένω ἀνετίθεσαν, θαρσήσας χαλκοῦν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ ᾿Αφροδίσιον, ἀστέρα ὑπὲρ 2 της κεφαλης έχοντα, έστησεν. ἐπειδή τε οὐδὲ 2 τοῦτό τις φόβω τοῦ δμίλου ἐκώλυσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμὴν προδεδογμένων ἐγένετο· τόν τε γὰρ μῆνα Γον Ἰούλιον δμοίως ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ἱερομηνίαις τισὶν έπινικίοις ίδίαν ημέραν έπλ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ έβουθύτησαν. καί δια ταθτα και οί στρατιωται έτοίμως, άλλως τε καὶ χρήμασι θεραπευθέντων τινών, συνίσταντο πρός τον Καίσαρα.

Θροῦς τε οὖν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀπὸ μετεώρου καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπτου τινός, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰώθει ποιεῖν, ἐντυχεῖν τι ἐθελήσαντα οὐ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ

παριλίων Μ, παραλίων L.
 οὐδὲ Rk., οὕτε LM.

BOOK XLV

to celebrate, but were now holding in slight regard, pett even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia; so, to win the favour of the populace, he provided for it at his private expense, on the ground that it concerned him because of his family. this time out of fear of Antony he did not bring into the theatre either Caesar's gilded chair or his crown set with precious stones, as had been permitted by decree. When, however, a certain star during all those days appeared in the north toward evening, which some called a comet, claiming that it foretold the usual occurrences, while the majority, instead of believing this, ascribed it to Caesar, interpreting it to mean that he had become immortal and had been received into the number of the stars. Octavius then took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head. And when this act also was allowed, no one trying to prevent it through fear of the populace, then at last some of the other decrees already passed in honour of Caesar were put into effect. Thus they called one of the months July after him, and in the course of certain festivals of thanksgiving for victory they sacrificed during one special day in memory of his For these reasons the soldiers also, particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar.

A rumour accordingly got abroad and it seemed likely that something unusual would take place. This belief was due particularly to the circumstance that once, when Octavius wished to speak with Antony in court about something, from an elevated and conspicuous place, as he had been wont to do in his father's lifetime, Antony would not permit it,

¹ Cf. xlm 42.

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καὶ κατέσπασε καὶ ἐξήλασε διὰ τῶν ἡαβδούχων. 8 δεινῶς γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ οὐχ ήκιστα ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι, πρός τε τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πλήθους έπαγωγόν, έφοίτησε. φοβηθείς οὖν ο ἀντώνιος διελέξατό ποτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅτι οὔτε τινὰ ὀργὴν τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ ὀφείλοι. καὶ ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἴη πᾶσαν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπολύσα-2 σθαι. ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐκείνφ συνῆλθον μεν ες λόγους, και κατηλλάχθαι τισιν έδοξαν (τάς τε γὰρ γνώμας σφῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, καὶ έξελέγξαι τότε αὐτὰς ἄκαιρον εἶναι νομίσαντες, ανθυπείξαν τινα αλλήλοις 1 συμβιβαζόμενοι), καλ ήμέρας μέν τινας ήσύχασαν, έπειτα άνθυποπτεύσαντες άλλήλους, εἴτ' έξ άληθοῦς έπιβουλής είτε καὶ ἐκ ψευδοῦς διαβολής, οἱα ἐν τῶ τοιούτω φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, διηνέγθησαν αδθις. 3 όταν γάρ τινες έκ μεγάλης έχθρας συνενεχθώσι, πολλά μεν μηδεν δεινον έχοντα πολλά δε καὶ εκ συντυχίας συμβαίνοντα ε υποτοπούσι παν γαρ ένὶ λόγφ ώς καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τινι γιγνόμενον πρὸς τὸ προυπάρξαν έχθος λαμ-Βάνουσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτω καὶ οί διὰ μέσου όντες συνεπιτίθενται· διαγγέλλοντες γάρ τινα προσποιήσει εὐνοίας ἐπιπαροξύνουσιν αὐτούς. 4 πλείστόν τε γάρ έστι τὸ βουλόμενον πάντας τούς τι δυναμένους άλλήλοις διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιχαῖρόν τε³ ἐπὶ τῆ ἔχθρα αὐτῶν καὶ συνεπιβουλεθόν σφισι καλ δάστον άπατηθήναι λό-

ἀλλήλοις Reim., ἀλλήλους LM.
 συμβαίνοντα Bk., λαμβάνοντες LM

³ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιχαῖρόν τε Βk., διὰ τοὺς ἐπιχαίροντας LM.

BOOK XLV

but caused his lictors to drag him down and drive BC 44 him out. All were exceedingly vexed, especially as Caesar, with a view to casting odium upon his rival and attracting the multitude, would no longer even frequent the Forum. So Antony became alarmed, and in conversation with the bystanders one day remarked that he harboured no anger against Caesar. but on the contrary owed him good-will, and was ready to end all suspicion. The statement was reported to the other, they held a conference, and some thought they had become reconciled. For they understood each other's feelings accurately, and, thinking it inopportune at that time to put them to the test. they tried to come to terms by making a few mutual concessions. And for some days they kept quiet; then they began to suspect each other afresh, as a result either of some actual treachery or some false calumny, as regularly happens under such conditions. and fell out again. For when men become reconciled after some great enmity they are suspicious of many acts that have no significance and of many chance occurrences; in brief, they regard everything. in the light of their former hostility, as done on purpose and for an evil end. And in the meantime those who are neutral aggravate the trouble between them by bearing reports back and forth under the pretence of good-will and thus exasperating them still further. For there is a very large element which is anxious to see all those who have power at variance with one another, an element which consequently takes delight in their enmity and joins in plots against them. And the one who has previously suffered from calumny is very easy to deceive with

γοις επιτετηδευμένοις εκ φιλίας ανυπόπτου τὸ προδιαβεβλημένον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ούδε εν τω πρίν πιστεύοντες άλλήλοις, επί πλέον

ηλλοτριώθησαν.

'Ορών οὖν δ 'Αντώνιος τὸν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενού, ἐπεχείρησε δελεάσαι τὸ πληθος, εἴ πως έκείνου τε αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσειε καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσποιήσειε, και χώραν ἄλλην τε πολλην και την έν τοις έλεσι τοις Πομπτίνοις, ώς κεχωσμένοις ήδη καί 1 γεωργείσθαι δυναμένοις, κληρουχηθήναι διά Λουκίου 'Αντωνίου άδελφοῦ δημαρχοῦντος ἐσηγή-2 σατο. τρείς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἀντώνιοι οὖτοι ὄντες ἀρχὰς ἄμα πάντες ἔσχον, ὁ μὲν Μᾶρκος ύπατεύων, ό δὲ Λούκιος δημαρχῶν, ό δὲ Γάιος στρατηγών δθεν ούχ ηκιστα ήδυνήθησαν τοὺς μεν τότε των συμμάχων και των υπηκόων άρχοντας, πλην των σφαγέων των πλειόνων, άλλων τέ τινων οθς πιστούς σφισιν ενόμιζον είναι, παθσαι, 3 έτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀνθελέσθαι, καί τισιν εἐπὶ μακρότερον, παρά τὰ νενομοθετημένα πρὸς ² τοῦ Καίσαρος, άρχειν επιτρέψαι, καὶ τὴν μεν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ὁ άδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάιος σφετερίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν την έντος των "Αλπεων, ή δ Βρούτος δ Δέκιμος προσετέτακτο, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων των ⁸ ές την 'Απολλωνίαν προπεμφθέντων, ώς καὶ ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὖσαν, ἀντιλαβεῖν. 4 ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐψηιρίσθη, καὶ τῷ Πομπηίω τῷ Σέξτω δύναμιν ήδη πολλην έχοντι ή τε άδεια,

 $^{^{1}}$ καὶ Reim., καὶ τε (τει M) LM. 2 πρὸs Bs., παρὰ LM. 3 τῶν supplied by Rk.

words adapted to the purpose by friends whose B.C. 44 attachment is free from suspicion. Thus it was that these men, who even before this had not trusted each other, became now more estranged than ever.

So Antony, seeing that Caesar was gaining ground, attempted to attract the populace by various baits, to see if he could detach them from his rival and win them to himself. Hence he introduced a measure for the opening up to settlement of a great amount of land, including the region of the Pontine marshes, since these had already been filled in and were capable of cultivation. He did this through his brother Lucius Antonius, who was tribune; for the three Antonii, who were brothers, all held offices at the same time. Marcus being consul, Lucius tribune, and Gaius praetor. This in particular enabled them to remove those who were then governing the allies and subjects (except the majority of the assassins and some others whom they regarded as loyal) and to choose others in their place, and also to grant to some the privilege of holding office for an unusually long term, contrary to the laws established by Caesar. And thus Macedonia, which had fallen to Marcus by lot, was appropriated by his brother Gaius, while Marcus himself with the legions previously sent to Apollonia took in its place Cisalpine Gaul, to which Decimus Brutus had been assigned, because it was very powerful in soldiers and money. After these arrangements had been voted, the pardon granted to Sextus Pompey, who already had considerable influence, was confirmed, in spite of the fact that it had

καίτοι ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

δοθεῖσα, ἐβεβαιώθη, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἔν τε ἀργυρίω καὶ ἐν χρυσίω τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῆς πατρώας αὐτοῦ οὐσίας εἰλήφει, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐγνώσθη τῶν γὰρ χωρίων αὐτῆς ¹ τὰ πλείω 'Αντώνιος ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδοσιν ἐποιήσατο.

10 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σέξτον γενόμενα. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἀπὸ τῆς Κορδούβης ἔφυγε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς Λακητανίαν ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐκρύφθη· ἐπεδιώχθη μὲν γάρ, διέλαθε δὲ εὐνοικῶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οί 2 διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην ἐχόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐν τῆ Βαιτικῆ στράτευμα οὐ πολὺ ὑπελείφθη, συνέστησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μάχης διασωθέντες, καὶ οὕτω μετ' αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν Βαιτικήν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτέραν ἐμπολεμῆσαι

καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανε, τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ καὶ βία προσλαβών (ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Γάιος ᾿Ασίνιος Πωλίων² οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν εἶχεν) ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ-4 χηδόνα τὴν Ἰβηρικήν, ἐπιθεμένου δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ Πωλίωνος² τἢ ἀπουσία αὐτοῦ καὶ κακώσαντός τινα ἐπανῆλθε χειρὶ πολλῷ, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτόν τε ἐτρέψατο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνιζομένους ἔπειτ' ἐκ συντυχίας τοιᾶσδε ἐξέπληξε καὶ δὲνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν χλαμύδα

3 οὖσαν, αὖθις ἀφίκετο, κάνταῦθα καὶ στρατιώτας

την στρατηγικην απέρριψεν ώστε ράον τη φυγή

¹ αὐτῆs R. Steph., αὐτοῖs LM, αὐτοῦ Χιρh.

² Πωλίων, Πωλίωνος Reim., πολίων, πολίωνος LM.

³ στρατηγικήν Bk., στρατιωτικήν LM.

originally been granted by Caesar to him as to all B.C 44 the rest. It was further resolved that whatever money in silver or gold the public treasury had received from his ancestral estate should be restored; but as for the lands belonging to it, Antony held the most of them and made no restoration.

This was the business in which these men were engaged. I shall now relate how Sextus had fared. When he had fled from Corduba on the former occasion.1 he first came to Lacetania and concealed himself there. He was pursued, to be sure, but eluded discovery because the natives were kindly disposed to him out of regard for his father's memory. Later, when Caesar had set out for Italy and only a small army was left behind in Baetica, Sextus was joined both by the natives and by those who had escaped from the battle; and with them he came again into Baetica, because he thought it a more suitable region in which to carry on war. There he gained possession of soldiers and cities, particularly after Caesar's death, some voluntarily and some forcibly; for the commander in charge of them, Gaius Asinius Pollio, had no strong force. He next set out against Spanish Carthage, but since in his absence Pollio made an attack and did some damage, he returned with a large force, met his opponent, and routed him, after which the following accident enabled him to terrify and conquer the rest also, who were contending fiercely. Pollio had cast off his general's cloak, in order to suffer less chance of detection

¹ Cf. xhii. 39, 1.

λαθείν, έτερος δέ τις δμώνυμός τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπι-Φανης ίππευς έπεσε, και δ μεν έκειτο η δε εαλώκει.1 τὸ μὲν ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ δὲ ἰδόντες ηπατήθησαν ώς καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων άπο-6 λωλότος καὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξτος νικήσας πάντα ολίγου τὰ ταύτη κατέσχε. δυνατοῦ δὲ ήδη αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὁ Λέπιδος τῆς τε ὁμόρου ² '1βηρίας άρξων αφίκετο, καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐς ὁμολογίαν έλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ³ τὰ πατρῷα κομίσασθαι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀντώνιος διά τε τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου φιλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχθραν ψηφισθήναι ἐποίησεν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῆς 11 'Ιβηρίας ἀπηλλάγη· Καΐσαρ δὲ καὶ 'Αντώνιος πάντα μεν έπ' άλλήλοις έπραττον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φανερώς πω συνερρώγεσαν, άλλα καίπερ τῷ ἔργφ έκπεπολεμωμένοι, τη γουν δοκήσει ἐπεκρύπτοντο. κάκ τούτου καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἐν τῆ πόλει πάντα ἔν 2 τε ἀκρισία 4 πολλή ην και συνεκέχυτο. εἰρήνουν έτι καὶ ἐπολέμουν ήδη· τό τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας σχῆμα έφαντάζετο καὶ τὰ τῆς δυναστείας ἔργα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ ὁ ἀντώνιος, ἄτε καὶ ύπατεύων, ἐπλεονέκτει, ἡ δὲ δὴ σπουδὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ες του Καίσαρα εποίει, το μεν διά τον πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ὧν ύπισχνεῖτο, μέγιστον δὲ 6 ὅτι τ $\hat{\varphi}$ τε ᾿Αντωνί φ πολύ δυναμένω ήχθοντο καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μηδέπω 3 ἰσχύοντι συνήροντο. ἐφίλουν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτερον, νέων δὲ δὴ ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, καὶ τὸ

² δμόρου Χιρh , δμοχώρου LM. 1 έαλώκει L άλώκει Μ.

τῷ L Xiph., τὸ Μ.
 ἀμρισία L Xiph., ἀκρασίαι Μ.
 ἐμφανεῖ Xiph., ἀφανεῖ LM.
 δὲ Rk., τε LM Xiph.

in his flight, and another man of the same name, a distinguished knight, had fallen. The soldiers, hearing the name of the latter, who was lying there, and seeing the garment, which had been captured, were deceived, thinking that their general had perished, and so surrendered. In this way Sextus conquered and gained possession of nearly the whole region. When he had thus become powerful, Lepidus arrived to govern the adjoining portion of Spain, and persuaded him to enter into an agreement on the condition of recovering his father's estate. And Antony, influenced by his friendship for Lepidus and by his hostility toward Caesar, caused such a decree to be passed.

So Sextus, in this way and on these conditions, departed from Spain. As for Caesar and Antony, in all their acts they were opposing each other, but had not vet fallen out openly, and while in reality they had become enemies, they tried to disguise the fact so far as appearances went. As a result all other interests in the city were in great confusion and turmoil. The citizens were still at peace and yet already at war; the appearance of liberty was kept up, but the deeds done were those of a monarchy. To a casual observer Antony, since he held the consulship, seemed to be getting the best of it, but the zeal of the masses was for Caesar. This was partly on his father's account, partly on account of their hopes for what he kept promising them, but above all because they were displeased at the great power of Antony and were inclined to assist Caesar while he was as yet devoid of strength. Neither man, to be sure, had their affection; but they were always eager for a change of government, and it

.μèν κρεῖττον ἀεὶ πᾶν καθαιρεῖν τῷ δὲ πιεζομένω βοηθεῖν πεφυκότες, ἀπεχρῶντο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιθυμήματα. ταπεινώσαντες οὖν τότε διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν 'Αντώνιον, ἔπειτα κἀκεῖνον 4 καταλῦσαι ἐπεχείρησαν. τοῖς γάρ τι ἀεὶ δυναμένοις βαρυνόμενοι τούς τε ἀσθενεστέρους προσελάμβανον καὶ διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς καθήρουν ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἠλλοτριοῦντο. κἀκ τούτου ἀντικαθιστάντες σφᾶς ἐς τὸ ἐπίφθονον τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφίλουν καὶ ἐμίσουν, καὶ ηὖξον καὶ ἐταπείνουν.

Οὕτως οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ περί του 'Αντώνιου έχοντων άρχην τήνδε ὁ πόλεμος έλαβεν. ὁ Καΐσαρ τοῦ Αντωνίου ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας περαιωθέντας ἀφορμήσαντος ἐκεῖσε 2 μεν ετέρους τινάς μετά χρημάτων, ὅπως σφᾶς σφετερίσωσι, προαπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Καμπανίας έλθων πλήθος ανδρών έκ τής Καπύης μάλιστα, άτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, Ε τιμωρείν έλεγε, τήν τε χώραν και την πόλιν είληφότων, ήθροισεν, ὑπισχνεῖτό τέ σφισι πολλά, καὶ έδωκεν εὐθὺς τότε κατά πεντακοσίας δραχμάς. 3 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἠουοκάτων 1 σύστημα, οθς ανακλήτους αν τις έλληνίσας, ὅτι $\pi \epsilon \pi a \upsilon \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu o \iota \tau \dot{\eta} \varsigma \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \dot{\epsilon} \iota a \varsigma^2 \dot{\epsilon} \pi^2 a \dot{\upsilon} \tau \dot{\eta} \nu^3 a \dot{\upsilon} \theta \iota \varsigma$ άνεκλήθησαν, ονομάσειεν, ενομίσθη. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβων ὁ Καίσαρ ἠπείχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην 4 πρὶν τὸν ἀντώνιον ἀνακομισθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸν

¹ ηουοκάτων Χyl., ηουκάτων ή βηκάτων LM.

² στρατείας Η. Steph., στρατιᾶς LM.

was their nature to overthrow every party that be that had the upper hand and to help the one that was being oppressed. Consequently they made use of the two to suit their own desires. Thus, after humbling Antony at this time through Caesar, they next undertook to destroy the latter also. For in their irritation against the men successively in power they regularly took up with the weaker side and attempted with its help to overthrow the others; afterwards they would become estranged from this side also. Thus exposing both of them to envy in turn, they alternately loved and hated, elevated and humbled, the same persons.

While they were thus disposed toward Caesar and Antony, the war began in the following way. When Antony had set out for Brundisium to meet the soldiers who had crossed over from Macedonia, Caesar sent some men to that city with money, who were to arrive there before Antony and win over the men, while he himself went to Campania and collected a large number of men, chiefly from Capua, because the people there had received their land and city from his father, whom he said he was avenging. He made them many promises and gave them on the spot two thousand sesterces apiece. From these men was constituted the corps of evocati, which one might translate the "recalled," because after having ended their military service they were recalled to it again. Caesar took charge of them, hastened to Rome before Antony returned, and came

ιδμιλον ύπὸ τοῦ Καννουτίου παρασκευασθέντα αὐτῷ ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοὺς ανέμνησεν, επεξιών όσα καλώς επεποιήκει, πολλά 5 δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ μέτρια διελέχθη, τοῦ τε 'Αντωνίου κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς άκολουθήσαντάς οι επήνεσεν ώς και εθελοντι1 πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πόλεως παρόντας καὶ ἑαυτόν τε ἐπ' αὐτή προκεχειρισμένους καὶ δι' ἐαυτοῦ 6 πασι ταθτα δηλοθντας. Επαίνων τε έπλ τούτοις έκ τε της άλλης παρασκευής καὶ έκ τοῦ συνόντος αὖτῶ πλήθους τυγών ἀπῆρεν 3 ἐς τὴν Τυρσηνίαν, 13 ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖθεν δύναμίν τινα προσλάβη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, Αντώνιον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν φιλοφρόνως οί στρατιώται έν τῷ Βρεντεσίω εδέξαντο, προσδοκήσαντες πλείω παρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προτεινομένων σφίσιν ύπο τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεσθαι, ἐπειδή καὶ πολλῷ πλείω κεκτήσθαι αὐτὸν 2 ἐκείνου ἐνόμιζον· ὡς μέντοι ἑκατόν τε ἑκάστω δραχμάς δώσειν υπέσχετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῷ θορυβησάντων σφαγήναι ἄλλους τέ τινας καΐ 4 έκατοντάρχους έν τε τοίς αύτοῦ καὶ έν τοίς τής 3 γυναικὸς όφθαλμοῖς ἐκέλευσε, τότε μὲν ἡσύχασαν, πορευόμενοι δε ες την Γαλατίαν και κατά το ἄστυ γεγενημένοι ένεωτέρισαν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες των υποστρατήγων των επιτεταγμένων σφίσι συχνοί πρός του Καίσαρα μετέστησαν και τό γε "Αρειον τό τε 5 τέταρτον στρατόπεδον ώνομασμέ-4 νον όλον αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε. παραλαβὼν οὖν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐκείνοις ὁμοίως δούς,

¹ έθελουτί Η. Steph., έθελουτήι LM. 2 δηλοῦντας Χyl, δηλοῦν LM. ΄ ἀπῆρεν Βκ., ἀπῆρέ τε LM. ⁴ τινας και cod. Peir., om. LM. ⁵ τε added by Bs.

before the people, who had been made ready for him BC 41 by Cannutius. There he reminded them in detail of the many excellent deeds his father had performed. delivered a lengthy, though moderate, defence of himself, and brought charges against Antony. He also praised the soldiers who had accompanied him, saving that they had come voluntarily to lend aid to the city, that they had elected him to preside over the state, and that through him they made known these facts to all. For this speech he received the approbation of his following and of the throng that stood by, after which he departed for Etruna with a view to obtaining an accession to his forces from that region. While he was doing this Antony had at first been kindly received in Brundisium by the soldiers, because they expected to secure more from him than was offered them by Caesar; for they believed that he possessed much more than his rival. When, however, he promised to give them merely four hundred sesterces apiece, they raised an outcry, but he reduced them to submission by ordering centurions as well as others to be slain before the eyes of himself and of his wife. So for the time being the soldiers were quiet, but when they arrived near the capital on the way to Gaul they mutinied, and many of them, despising the lieutenants who had been set over them, changed to Caesar's side; in fact, the Martian legion, as it was called. and the fourth went over to him in a body. Caesar took charge of them and won their attachment by giving money to them likewise,—an act which added

προσέθετο καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου πολλούς, καὶ τούς τε ἐλέφαντας τοὺς τοῦ ἀντωνίου πάντας ἔλαβεν ἐξαπίνης παρακομιζομένοις σφίσιν ἐντυτούν, ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα τέ τινα ἐν τῆ Ὑρώμη διοικήσας, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς λοιποὺς τούς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας ὁρκώσας, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐξώρμησε ² φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτή τι ³ νεοχμώση, οὐδ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ' ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῶ.

3 τέροις 5 πολεμήση. λογισάμενος οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αντώνιον ἀγὼν ἤδη τε ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἐπείγει, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέπω καιρὸς εἴη, τὸν Δέκιμον προσηταιρίσατο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἦπίστατο ὅτι τούτω μέν, ἂν τῶν ἀντικαθεστη-

¹ èv Leunel, καὶ èv LM.

 ² εξάρμησε Zon , εφώρμησε LM.
 ³ τι M, τε L.
 ⁴ Δέκιμος Leunel., δέκιος LM (and similarly below).

⁵ αμφοτέροις L, αμφοτέρους M.

BOOK XLV

many more to his cause. He also captured all the B.C. 44 elephants of Antony, by falling in with them suddenly as they were being driven along. Antony stopped in Rome only long enough to arrange a few affairs and to administer the oath to all the rest of the soldiers and the senators who were in their company; then he set out for Gaul, fearing that it, too, might begin an uprising. Caesar, on his side, did not delay, but followed after him.

The governor of Gaul at this time was Decimus Brutus, and Antony placed great hope in him, because he had helped to slay Caesar. But matters turned out as follows. Decimus had no suspicion of Caesar, for the latter had uttered no threats against the assassins; and, on the other hand, he saw that Antony was as much a foe of himself as of Caesar or of any of the rest who had any power, as a result of his natural cupidity; therefore he refused to give way to him. Caesar, when he heard of this, was for some time at a loss what course to adopt. For he hated both Decimus and Antony, but saw no way in which he could contend against them both at once; for he was by no means yet a match for either one of the two, and he was furthermore afraid that if he risked such a move he might throw them into each other's arms and have to face their united opposition. After stopping to reflect, therefore, that the struggle with Antony had already begun and was urgent, but that it was not yet a fitting season for avenging his father, he made a friend of Decimus. For he well understood that he should find no great difficulty in fighting against

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κότων 1 δι' αὐτοῦ κρατήση, οὐδὲν μέγα ἔργον μετὰ τοθτό οί προσπολεμήσας έξει, εκείνον δε ισχυρών αὖθις πολέμιου 2 σχήσει τοσοῦτόν που ἀλλήλων πέμψας οθυ πρός του Δέκιμου φιλίαν 15 διέφερον. τε αὐτῶ ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συμμαχίαν, αν μὴ τὸν 'Αντώνιον δέξηται, προσυπισχνεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος 2 συνήροντο. τότε μὲν οὖν (ἤδη γὰρ ὅ τε ἐνιαυτὸς ἐξήει καὶ ὕπατος οὐδεὶς παρῆν ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ές την Συρίαν ύπο του 'Αντωνίου προεξεπέπεμπτο) έπαινοι έν τη βουλή αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοις του 'Αντώνιον έγκαταλιπουσι, 3 των δημάρχων ἐπιψηφισάντων, ἐγένοντο.3 καὶ όπως γε μετὰ ἀδείας τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἐνστάντος βουλεύσωνται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, φρουρậ 4 σφίσι στρατιωτών ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῷ χρῆσθαί ἔδοξέ. ταθτα γαρ ήρεσκε μέν και τοις άλλοις τοις πλείοσι των έν τη 'Ρώμη τότε όντων (τον γαρ 'Αντώνιον δεινώς 4 ἐμίσουν), μάλιστα δὲ δὴ τῷ Κικέρωνι διὰ γὰρ τὸ πρὸς αὖτὸν ἔχθος σφοδρότατον ὑπάρχον τόν τε Καίσαρα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἐδύνατο καὶ λόγφ και έργφ τούτφ τε έβοήθει και έκείνον έκάκου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ώς και τον υίον Αθήναζε έπι παιδεία προπέμψων, επανηλθεν επειδήπερ εκπεπολεμώμένους σφας ήσθετο.

'Εκείνω μεν οθν τω έτει ταθτ' επράχθη, καὶ ο Σερουίλιος δ ό Ίσαυρικός ύπεργήρως ἀπέθανε. διά τε οὖν τοῦτο ἐμνημόνευσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως οἱ

¹ αντικαθεστηκότων Rk., καθεστηκότων LM.

 ² πολέμιον R. Steph., πόλεμον LM.
 3 ἐγένοντο L, ἐγένετο Μ.
 4 φρουρῷ Cobet, φρουραῖs LM. 5 Σερουίλιος Χyl., σουλπίκιος LM.

BOOK XLV

Decimus later, if with his aid he could first over- BC.14 come his adversaries, but that in Antony he should again have a powerful antagomst; so serious were the differences between them. Accordingly he sent to Decimus, proposing friendship and also promising alliance, if he would refuse to receive Antony. This proposal caused the people in the city likewise to espouse Caesar's cause. Just at this time the year was drawing to a close and no consul was on the ground, Dolabella having been previously sent by Antony to Syria; nevertheless, eulogies both of Caesar and Brutus themselves and of the soldiers who had abandoned Antony were delivered in the senate with the concurrence of the tribunes. And in order that they might deliberate about the situation in security when the new year should begin, they voted to employ a guard of soldiers at their meetings. This pleased nearly all who were in Rome at the time, since they cordially detested Antony, and it was particularly gratifying to Cicero. For he, on account of his very bitter hostility toward Antony, was paying court to Caesar, and so far as he could, both by speech and by action, strove to assist him in every way and to injure Antony. It was for this reason that, although he had left the city to accompany his son to Athens in the interest of the young man's education, he returned on ascertaining that the two men had become enemies.

Besides these events which took place that year, Servilius Isauricus died at a very advanced age. I have mentioned him both for this reason and to

τότε 'Ρωμαίοι τούς τε τῷ ἀξιώματι προήκοντας ¹ ήδοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδεία τινὶ χρωμένους καὶ ἐπὶ ² τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἐμίσουν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνός τινα ἐν ὁδῷ ποτε ἀπαντήσαντά οἱ βαδίζοντι ἱππεύοντα, καὶ μήτε ἀποπηδήσαντα καὶ προσέτι ἰσχυρῶς προσεξελάσαντα, ἐγνώρισέ ² τε μετὰ τοῦτο ἐν δικαστηρίφ κρινόμενον καὶ εἶπε ³ τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ γενόμενον, οὕτε λόγον ἔτ' αὐτῷ

Αύλου δε δη Γρτίου μετά Γαίου Οὐιβίου 4

έδοσαν καὶ κατεψηφίσαντο πάντες.

ύπατεύσαντος (ούτος γάρ, καίτοι του πατρός αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα τὰ Σύλλεια ἐσγραφέντος, ύπατος τότε ἀπεδείχθη) βουλή τε εγένετο καί γνωμαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐφεξης ἡμέρας, ὁ ἀπ' αὐτης της 2 νουμηνίας ἀρξάμεναι, προετέθησαν έκ τε γάρ τοῦ πολέμου εν χερσίν όντος και εκ τεράτων, α πλείστα καὶ έξαισιώτατα έγεγόνει, ταρασσόμενοι οὐδὲ τῆς ἀποφράδος, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις βουλεύσασθαί ετι τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσιν, ἀπέσχοντο. κεραυνοί τε γάρ παμπληθείς έπεσον, καί τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν νεών τὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίω 3 έν τῷ Νικαίφ ὄντα κατέσκηψαν καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα ἐπιγενόμενον τάς τε στήλας τὰς περὶ τὸ Κρόνιον και περί τον της Πίστεως νεών προσπεπηγυίας ἀπέρρηξε καὶ διεσκέδασε, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ της 'Αθηνας της Φυλακίδος, δ πρὸ της φυγης ό Κικέρων ες το Καπιτώλιον ανετεθείκει,8 κατέβαλε

¹ προήκοντας Leuncl., προσήκοντας LM.

² ἐγνώρισέ Leuncl., ἐγνωρίσθαι LM.

³ είπε Leuncl., εἰπόντος LM. 4 Οὐιβίου Xyl., νίοῦ LM.

ἡμέρας R. Steph., ἡμεραῖς LM.
 βουλεύσασθαί Bk., βουλεῦσαί LM.

⁷ όντα R. Steph., όντι LM. 8 άνετεθείκει Bk., άνετίθει LM.

show how the Romans of that period respected men 8.0.44 who were prominent through merit and hated those who behaved insolently, even in the smallest matters. This Servilius, it seems, had once while walking met on the road a man on horseback, who, so far from dismounting at his approach, galloped right on. Later he recognized the fellow in a defendant in court, and when he mentioned the incident to the jurors, they gave the man no further hearing, but unanimously condemned him.

In the consulship of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius B.G. 43 Vibius (for Vibius was now appointed consul in spite of the fact that his father's name had been posted on the tablets of Sulla) a meeting of the senate was held and opinions expressed for three successive days, including the very first day of the year. For because of the war which was upon them and the portents, very numerous and unfavourable, which took place, they were so excited that they failed to observe even the dies nefasti and to refrain on those days from deliberating about any of their interests. Vast numbers of thunderbolts had fallen, some of them descending on the shrine of Capitoline Jupiter which stood in the temple of Victory; also a mighty windstorm occurred which snapped off and scattered the tablets1 erected about the temple of Saturn and the shrine of Fides and also overturned and shattered the statue of Minerva the Protectress. which Cicero had set up on the Capitol before his

i.e., the bronze tablets containing laws, etc.

4 καὶ κατέθραυσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Κικέρωνι του όλεθρου προεδήλωσε τούς άλλους ἐκεῖνά τε ἐτάραττε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας γενόμενος, ταῦρός τέ τις τυθείς τε δι' αὐτὸν1 έν² τῶ 'Εστιαίω³ καὶ ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τὴν ' ίερουργίαν. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τοιούτοις οὖσι λαμπάς ἀπ' ἀνίσχουτος ήλίου πρός δυσμάς διέδραμε, καί τις ἀστηρ καινός ἐπὶ πολλὰς ημέρας 5 ἄφθη. τό τε φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλαττοῦσθαί τε καὶ σ βέννυσθαι, τοτὲ 4 δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλοις φαντάζεσθαι εδόκει, καὶ ενα γε αὐτῶν στέφανος σταχύων πυρώδης περιέσχεν, δόστ' εἴπερ τι άλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐναργέστατα αὐτοῖς ἐκβῆναι· οῖ τε γάρ ἄνδρες οἱ τρεῖς ἐδυνάστευον, λέγω δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα και του Λέπιδου και του 'Αυτώνιου, και έξ αὐτών ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν νίκην ἔλαβεν. 6 τότε δ' οὖν ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγια πρὸς κατάλυσιν της δημοκρατίας φέροντα παντοία ήδετο, κόρακές τε ές τὸ Διοσκόρειον εσπετόμενοι τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλου ὀνόματα, ἐνταῦθά που ἐν πινακίφ ἐγγε-7 γραμμένα, έξεκόλαψαν. καὶ κύνες πολλοὶ νυκτὸς κατά τε την άλλην πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῆ τοῦ άρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου οἰκία μάλιστα συστρεφόμενοι ώρύοντο. ὅ τε Ἡριδανὸς ἐπὶ πολύ τῆς πέριξ γης πελαγίσας έξαίφνης άνεχώρησε, καί παμπληθείς εν τῷ ξηρῷ ὄφεις εγκατέλιπε. καὶ ίχθυς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τοῦ

¹ αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτῶν LM. 2 ἐν R. Steph, ἐs LM.

[&]quot; Έστιαίφ R. Steph., ἐστιδίωι LM. 4 τοτὲ Xiph., τότε LM.

⁵ περιέσχεν Χιρh., περιέσχον LM. 6 ωστ' είπερ Rk., ωσπερ LM.

⁷ Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκούρειον LM.

exile. This, now, also portended death to Cicero B.G. 43 himself. Another thing that frightened the rest of the population was a great earthquake which occurred, and the fact that a bull which was being sacrificed on account of it in the temple of Vesta leaped. up after the ceremony. In addition to these omens, clear as they were, a flash darted across from the east to the west and a new star was seen for several days. Then the light of the sun seemed to be diminished and even extinguished, and at times to appear in three circles, one of which was surmounted by a fiery crown of sheaves. This came true for them as clearly as ever any prophecy did. For the three men were in power, -I mean Caesar, Lepidus and Antony, -and of these Caesar subsequently secured the victory. At the same time that these things occurred all sorts of oracles foreshadowing the downfall of the republic were recited. Crows, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet. And by night dogs would gather together in large numbers throughout the city and especially near the house of the high priest, Lepidus, and howl. Again, the Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory, suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes; and countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the

Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐξέπεσον. 8 ἐπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς ¹ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πάση ὡς εἰπεῖν τἢ Ἰταλία ἰσχυρός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τό τε βουλευτήριον τὸ 'Οστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ῷ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγεγόνει συγχωσθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα στήσεσθαι τὸ βεινὸν ἐδόκει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Οὐιβίου² τὰ ἐσιτήρια ³ τἢ νουμηνία θύοντος ῥαβδοῦχός τις αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπέθανεν. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβουλεύσαντό τε, καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλοὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων ὧδε·

18 "*Ων μèν ἔνεκα τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκδημήσων, ἐστειλάμην, καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τὴν ἐπάνοδον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ὑμᾶς ἀφελήσων, ἐποιησάμην, ἤκούσατε πρώην, ὡ πατέρες, ὅθ'

- 2 ύμλν περί αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπελογησάμην. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι ζῆν ὑπομείναιμ' ἄν, ἐν ἢ μήτε παρρησιάσ-ασθαι ἀρθῶς ⁴ μήτε παρρησιάσ-ασθαι ἀσφαλῶς μήτε τελευτῆσαι χρησίμως ὑμιν δύναμαι, οὔτ' αὖ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι ⁵ πρᾶξαι, κατοκνήσαιμ' ἄν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
- 3 νομίζω γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὁμοίως ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρουσι τηρεῖν ἑαυτόν, φυλαττόμενου μὴ μάτην ἀπόληται, κἀν τούτφ μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν τῶν προσηκόντων μήτε λέγοντα μήτε πράττοντα, κὰν ἄρα τι καὶ παθεῖν σώζοντα αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἦ.

¹ λοιμός v. Herw., δ λοιμός LM.

² Οὐιβίου Xyl., ἰουλίου LM.

³ ἐσιπηρια Xyl., ἐσητηρια LM. ⁴ ὀρθῶs supplied by Bk.
⁵ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι R. Ste h., παρόντων δέοντι M, παρασχόντων δέοντι L.

mouths of the Tiber. Succeeding these terrors a BC. 43 terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia should be rebuilt and that the spot where the naval battle had taken place should be filled up. However, the curse did not appear disposed to rest even then, especially since, when Vibius was conducting the opening sacrifices on the first day of the year, one of his lictors suddenly fell down and died. Because of these events they took counsel during those days, and among the various men who spoke on one side or the other Cicero addressed them as follows:

"You have heard recently, Conscript Fathers, when I made a statement to you about the matter, why I made preparations for my departure, thinking that, I should be absent from the city for a long time, and then hastily returned, with the idea that I should benefit you greatly. For I could not, on the one hand, endure to live under a monarchy or a tylanny, since under such a government I cannot live rightly as a free citizen nor speak my mind safely nor die in a way that would be of service to you; and yet, on the other hand, if opportunity should be afforded to perform any necessary service, I would not shrink from doing it, though it involved danger. For I deem it the business of an upright man equally to keep himself safe in his country's interest, taking care that he may not perish uselessly, and at the same time not to fail in any duty either of speech or of action, even if it be necessary to suffer some harm while saving his country.

¹ Cf. xl. 50. ² Cf. xlni, 23, 4.

19 "Οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων ἢν μέν που πολλὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ έμοι καὶ ὑμῖν ασφάλεια πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα βουλεύσασθαι ἐπεὶ δε και μετά φρουράς συνελθείν έψηφίσασθε, πάνθ' ήμας ούτω δεί 1 καὶ εἰπείν καὶ πράξαι τήμερον ώστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος προιδέσθαι, μὴ 2 καὶ αὖθις 2 ἀναγκασθώμεν όμοίως ύπερ αὐτῶν διαγνῶναι. ότι μεν οὖν 3 χαλεπά καὶ δεινά καὶ πολλής ἐπιμελείας και Φροντίδος δεόμενα τὰ πράγματα ήμων έστι, και ύμεις αύτοι δήλου, εί και έκ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκ τούτου γε πεποιή-κατε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐψηφίσασθε φυλακὴν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σχείν, είγε έξην ύμίν έν τε * τφ είωθότι κόσμω και έν ήσυχία άδεῶς τι βουλεύσα-3 σθαι. 5 δεί δε ήμας καί δια τούς στρατιώτας τους παρόντας άξιόλογόν τι πράξαι, ίνα μη καί αίσχύνην ὄφλωμεν, αἰτήσαντες μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ φοβούμενοί τινας, ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ώς ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκότες, καὶ λόγῳ μέν σφας ύπερ της πόλεως επ' 'Αντώνιον προσει-4 ληφότες, ἔργω δ' ἐκείνω καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δεδωκότες, ώσπερ δέον αὐτόν, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατεύμασιν α κατά της πατρίδος συγκροτεί, καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους προσλαβεῖν, ἵνα μηδέν μηδέ τήμερον κατ' αὐτοῦ ψηφίσησθε.

20 "Καίτοι τινèς èς τοῦτ' ἀναιδείας ἐληλύθασιν ὅστε τολμῶν λέγειν ὡς οὐ πολεμεῖ τῆ πόλει, καὶ τοσαύτην γε εὐήθειαν ὑμῶν κατεγνώκασιν ὥστε

δεῖ L, δὴ M.
 μὴ Rk , ὅστε μὴ LM.
 σὖν supplied by Rk.
 τε Rk., γε LM.

⁵ βουλεύσασθαι Βκ., βουλεθσαι LM.

"This being the case, although a large measure of B.C. 48 safety was afforded even by Caesar both to you and to me for the discussion of pressing questions, yet since you have further voted to assemble under guard, we must frame all our words and acts this day in such a fashion as to settle the present difficulties and to provide for the future, that we may not again be compelled to decide in a similar way about them. Now that our situation is difficult and dangerous and requires much care and thought, you yourselves have made evident, if in no other way, at least by this measure; for you would not have voted to keep the senate-house under guard, if it had been possible for you to deliberate without fear in accordance with your accustomed good order and in quiet. We must also accomplish something of importance by very reason of the soldiers who are here, so that we may not incur the disgrace that would certainly follow from asking for them as if we feared somebody, and then neglecting affairs as if we were liable to no danger. We should then appear to have acquired them only nominally on behalf of the city against Antony, but in reality to have given them to him to be used against ourselves, and it would look as if in addition to the other legions which he is gathering against his country he needed to acquire these very men also, in order that you might not pass any vote against him even to-day.

"Yet some have reached such a point of shamelessness as to dare to say that he is not warring against the state, and have credited you with a simplicity

καὶ νομίζειν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς 1 έαυτῶν πείσειν ὑμᾶς 2 προσέχειν μάλλον ή τοις έργοις τοις έκείνου. καὶ τίς αν ἀφείς τὸ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, καὶ την στρατείαν ην έπι τους συμμάχους ήμων μήτε της βουλης μήτε τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος πεποίηται, καὶ τὰς χώρας ὰς κατατρέχει, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ας πολιορκεί, και τας απειλάς ας πασιν ημίν ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐφ' αῖς ἄπαντα ταῦτα ποιεί, τοίς τε ρήμασι τοίς τούτων καὶ ταίς ψευδολογίαις αίς ἀναβάλλουσιν ύμας, σκήψεις καὶ προφάσεις λέγοντες, έθελήσειε πεισθείς ἀπολέ-3 σθαι; έγω μεν γάρ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔννομόν τι καὶ πολιτικὸν ² πρᾶγμα φάναι πράττειν, ώστε καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας άρχὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προσταχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν τὴν 4 μηδεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ὅτι στρατεύματα ὰ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους προύπεμψε, συλλαβών περί αυτόν, μηδενός έν τῆ 'Ιταλία δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐν Τῷ της υπατείας χρόνω έκλιπων περιέρχεται 3 την γώραν πορθών καὶ λυμαινόμενος, πάλαι φημί 21 πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ παραχρημα τότε ησθάνεσθε μηδε εφ' εκάστω αὐτῶν ἡγανακτεῖτε, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο 4 ἔτι μάλλον μισείν άξιον έστιν, ὅτι τοιούτους ὄντας ύμας αδικών ου παύεται, και δυνηθείς αν Ισως συγγνώμης έφ' οίς τὸ πρῶτον ήμαρτε τυχεῖν, ές τοσούτο τη συνεχεία της πονηρίας προελήλυθεν

περιέρχεται Rk., ἐκπεριέρχεται LM.
 τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα LM.

¹ τοιs supplied by Dind. 2 πολιτικόν Hug, παντί κακόν LM.

so great as to think that they will persuade you BO. 48 to pay heed to their words rather than to his acts. But who would choose to shut his eyes to his acts and the campaign he has made against our allies without any orders from the senate or the people, the countries he is overrunning, the cities he is besieging, the threats he is hurling against us all, and the hopes with which he is doing all this, and would choose instead to believe, to his own ruin, the words of these men and their false statements. by which they put you off with pretexts and excuses? I, for my part, do not admit that in doing this he is acting legally or constitutionally. Far from it he abandoned the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by lot, chose instead the province of Gaul, which did not belong to him at all, assumed control of the legions which Caesar had sent ahead against the Parthians and keeps them about him, though no danger threatens Italy, and after leaving the city during the period of his consulship now goes about pillaging and ruining the country; for these reasons I declare that he has long been an enemy of us all. And if you did not perceive it immediately at the outset or feel indignation at each of his actions, he deserves to be hated all the more on that very account, in that he does not stop injuring you who are so longsuffering. He might perchance have obtained pardon for the errors which he committed at first, but now by his persistence in them he has reached such a pitch of knavery that he ought to be brought

ώστε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρηναι δίκην ὑποσχεῖν. 2 ύμιν δε ες υπερβολην επιμελητέον εστί των πραγμάτων, δρώσι καὶ λογιζομένοις τοῦθ', ὅτι τὸν τοσαυτάκις ύμῶν ἐν τοσούτοις πράγμασι καταπεφρουηκότα άδύνατον έστιν έκούσιον ύπό τε της αὐτης ἐπιεικείας καὶ της αὐτης φιλανθρωπίας ύμων σωφρονισθήναι, άλλ' ανάγκη και άκοντα νθν, εί καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κολασθ ῆναι.1 22 " Μη γάρ ὅτι καὶ ψηφίσασθαί τινα αὐτῷ τὰ μεν ανέπεισεν υμας 2 τα δε εξεβιάσατο, ηττόν τι παρά τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάττονος διὰ τοῦτο 2 ἄξιον τιμωρίας είναι νομίσητε. παν γάρ τουναντίον και υπέρ αὐτοῦ τούτου μάλιστα δίκην όφείλει δοῦναι, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προελόμενος δράσαι δι' ύμων τέ τινα αὐτων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ταίς παρ' ύμῶν ἀφορμαίς, ἃς οὔτε εἰδότας οὔτε προορωμένους τι τοιούτον έξαπατήσας ήνάγκασεν αύτῷ ψηφίσασθαι, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσατο. 3 που γαρ αν εκόντες ύμεις τας μεν παρα τθυ

πέμψαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ Γαλατίαν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων, οἶς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χρήσασθαι 4 εἶχε, προστάξαι; ³ ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅπως ⁴ ταραττομένους ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτῆ λαβὼν πάνθ' ὅσα ἠβουλήθη διεπράξατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπικοινῶν ὑμῖν ὑπούλως καὶ δ ἀκαίρως, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς

Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου δοθείσας ἑκάστοις ἡγεμονίας κατελύσατε, τούτφ δὲ ἐπετρέψατε τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις διαδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γάιον

¹ κολασθήναι Βκ., κωλυθήναι LM.

 ² ὑμᾶs R. Steph., ἡμᾶs LM.
 ³ προστάξαι R. Steph., προστάξαs LM.

⁴ δπωs added by R. Steph. 5 καl added by R. Steph.

to book for his former offences as well. And you nec.49 ought to be excessively careful in regard to the situation, when you see this and ponder it—that the man who has so often despised you in matters so weighty cannot, as he would like, be corrected by the same gentleness and kindliness as you have shown before, but must now, even though never before, be chastised, quite against his will, by force of arms.

"And do not, because he partly persuaded and partly compelled you to vote him certain privileges, imagine that this makes him less guilty or deserving of less punishment. Quite the reverse: for this very procedure he particularly deserves to be punished, because, after determining beforehand to commit many outrages, he not only accomplished some of them through you, but also employed against you yourselves the resources which came from you, which by deception he forced you to vote to him when you neither realised nor foresaw anything of the sort. For after you had abrogated of your own free will the positions of command assigned by Caesar or by the lot to each man, would you ever have allowed this fellow to distribute numerous appointments to his friends and companions, sending his brother Gaius to Macedonia, and assigning to himself Gaul together with the legions, which he had no occasion to use in your defence? Do you not recall how, when he found you in consternation over Caesar's death, he carried out all the schemes that he chose, communicating some to you carefully dissimulated and at inopportune moments, and executing others on his own responsibility, thus adding villainy to

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his deception, while all his acts were accomplished B C. 43 by violence? At least he employed soldiers, and barbarians, too, against you. And need any one be surprised that in those days an occasional vote was passed which should not have been passed, when even now we have not obtained freedom to say and do anything that is needful in any other way than by the aid of a body-guard? If we had then been encompassed by this guard, he would not have obtained what some one may say he has obtained, nor would he have risen thereby to power and have done the deeds that followed. Accordingly, let no one retort that the rights which at his command and under compulsion and amid laments we had the appearance of giving him were legally and rightfully bestowed. For even in private business that is not observed as binding which a man does under compulsion from another.

"And yet all these measures which you may seem to have voted you will find to be unimportant and differing but little from established custom. What was there so serious in the fact that one man was destined to govern Macedonia or Gaul instead of another? Or what was the harm if a man obtained soldiers during his consulship? But these are the things that are harmful and abominable,-that our land should be ravaged, the allied cities besieged. our soldiers armed against us, and our wealth expended to our detriment; this you neither voted nor would ever have voted. Do not, then, merely because you have granted him certain privileges, allow him to usurp what was not granted him; and do not imagine that, because you have conceded certain points, he ought therefore to be permitted to do

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θέντα αὐτῷ ποιείν έξείναι. πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὀφείλετε, ὅτι καὶ τῆ τιμῆ καὶ τῆ φιλανθρωπία τη παρ' ύμων οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐτόλμησε 4 χρήσασθαι. σκοπεῖτε δέ· ἐψηφίσασθε τήν τε είρηνην και την δμόνοιαν την προς άλληλους, έμοι 1 πεισθέντες. ταύτην ούτος πρυτανεύσαι κελευσθείς ούτω διηχε 2 πρόφασιν Καίσαρος ταφην ποιησάμενος, ώστε πασαν μεν την πόλιν ολίγου καταπρησθήναι, παμπόλλους δέ 5 αὖθις φονευθήναι. ἐβεβαιώσατε πάντα δοθέντα τισὶ καὶ νομοθετηθέντα πρὸς Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὡς καλῶς πάντ' ἔχοντα (πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ), ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶν μετακινηθῆναι συνέφερεν, δπως άνυπόπτως χωρίς ύπούλου τινός άλλήλοις συνώμεν. τούτων έξεταστής ούτος γενόμενος πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλέλυκε, πολλὰ δὲ ἔτερα ἀντεγγέγραφε· ³ 6 και γάρ χώρας και πολιτείας και άτελείας και άλλας τινὰς τιμὰς τούς τε ἔχοντας ἀφήρηται, καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τοῖς μὴ παραποιησάμενος ⁴ λαβοῦσι δέδωκε, τούς μέν μηδέν Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, καὶ έθελήσαντας αὐτῷ προίεσθαι καὶ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀφελόμενος, τοῖς δ' ἀνητιάσασι ⁵ 7 ἐκεῖνα καὶ τάλλα πάντα πωλήσας. ύμεῖς αὐτὰ ταῦτα προορώμενοι ἐψηφίσασθε μηδεμίαν στήλην μετά του του Καίσαρος θάνατον,

5 ωνητιάσασι Dind., δυ ηιτιάσασι LM.

¹ ἐμοὶ Rk., καὶ ἐμοὶ LM.
² διῆχε Bk., διῆγε LM.

³ αντεγγέγραφε Pflugk, αντενέγραφε LM.

⁴ παραποιησάμενος R. Steph., παραποιησαμένους LM.

what has not been conceded. Quite the reverse: 80 48 you should for this very reason both hate and punish him, because he has dared not only in this case but in all other cases to use against you the honour and kindness you have bestowed. Consider a moment. Through my influence you voted that there should be peace and harmony amongst you. This man, when he was ordered to manage the business, performed it in such a way, taking Caesar's funeral as a pretext, that almost the whole city was burned down and once more great numbers were slaughtered. You ratified all the grants made to various persons and all the laws laid down by Caesar, not because they were all excellent—far from it!-but because it was inadvisable to make any change in them, if we were to live together free from suspicion and without malice. This man, appointed to examine into Caesar's acts, has abolished many of them and has substituted many others in the documents. He has taken away lands and citizenship and exemption from taxes and many other honours from their possessors, whether private persons, kings, or cities, and has given them to men who did not receive them, by altering the memoranda of Caesar; from those who were unwilling to give up anything to his grasp he took away even what had been given them, and sold this and everything else to such as wished to buy. Yet you, foreseeing this very possibility, had voted that no tablet should be set up after Caesar's death

ώς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τω 1 δεδομένον τι ἔχουσαν. στηναι. και μέντοι και μετά ταῦτα ὡς μολὸ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί τινα τῶν εν τοῖς γράμμασι τοῖς τοῦ δ Καίσαρος 8 εύρεθέντων εκλεχθήναί τε καὶ πραχθήναι, ύμεις μεν μετά των πρώτων ανδρων προσετάξατε αυτώ ταῦτα διαλέξαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν Φροντίσας. πάνθ' όσα έβούλετο μόνος και περί τούς νόμους καὶ περὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν είπον έξειργάσατο.4 ούτω που πάντα

τα δοκοθυτα υμίν ποιείν βούλεται.

" Αρ' οὖν ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοιοῦτος γέγονε, τὰ δ' 24άλλα ὀρθώς διώκηκε; ποῦ: πόθεν: οὐ τὰ γρήματα τὰ κοινὰ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιζητῆσαι καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι κελευσθεὶς ήρπακε, και τὰ μεν τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδέδωκε τὰ δὲ ἐς τρυφὴν κατανάλωκεν, ὥστε μηκέτ' αὐτῷ 2 μηδε τούτων τι περιείναι; ού τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος μισησάντων ύμῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκείμου δυναστείαν καὶ παντελώς έκ της πολιτείας έκβαλόντων, τοῦτο μέν ώσπερ τι αὐτὸ ἐφ' ξαυτοῦ άδικησαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐπιτέθειται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς 3 ύπατείας προσρήματι ἐπιδέδεικται; οὐχ ὑμεῖς μέν πρύτανιν αὐτὸν της όμονοίας ἀπεδείξατε, ούτος δὲ πόλεμον αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τηλικοῦτον, ούτε προσήκοντα ούτε έγνωσμένον, ανήρηται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Δέκιμον, οθς ύμεις ἐπαινείτε; 4 μυρία δ' αν είη λέγειν, εί τις επεξιέναι καθ'

¹ τω Bk., τωι LM. 2 ώs Bk , ουτως LM.

³ τοῖς τοῦ Leunel., τῶν τοῦ LM. 4 εξειργάσατο St., εξαιριάσατο LM.

purporting to contain any privilege granted by him 8.C. 43 to any one. Nevertheless, when it happened many times after that, and he claimed that it was necessary for some provisions found in Caesar's papers to be specially singled out and put into effect, you assigned to him, in company with the foremost men, the task of making such excerpts; but he, paying no attention to the others, carried out everything alone according to his wishes, in regard to the laws, the exiles, and the other matters which I enumerated a few moments ago. This, indeed, is the way he chooses to execute all your decrees.

"Has he, then, shown himself to be this sort of man only in these affairs, while managing the rest rightly? When or how? Though ordered to search out and produce the public moneys left behind by Caesar, has he not seized them, paying a part to his creditors and spending a part on high living, so that he no longer has any left even of this? Though you hated the name of dictator on account of Caesar's sovereignty and rejected it entirely from the state, has not Antony, even though he has avoided adopting it,—as if the name in itself could do any harm, -nevertheless exhibited a dictator's behaviour and his greed for gain under the title of the consulship? Though you assigned to him the duty of promoting harmony, has he not on his own responsibility begun this great war, neither necessary nor sanctioned, against Caesar and Decimus, whom you approve? Indeed, innumerable cases might be mentioned, if one wished to go into

ἕκαστον ἐθελήσειεν ὧν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῶ ὡς ὑπάτω διοικῆσαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ές δέον ἔπραξε, άλλὰ καὶ πάντα τάναντία καθ' ύμων τη παρ' ύμων έξουσία δοθείση χρώμενος 5 πεποίηκεν. ἄρ' οὖν ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξεσθε¹ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα, καὶ αύτοι πάντων σφών αίτιοι γεγονέναι φήσετε, ότι την διοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν έξετασμὸν αὐτῶ 6 προσετάξατε; άλλὰ ἄτοπον. οὐδὲ στρατηγός ή και πρεσβευτής 2 τις αίρεθείς μηδέν των δεόντων δράση, τούτου την αιτίαν υμείς οί πέμλαντες αὐτοὺς έξετε. καὶ γὰρ ὰν εἴη δεινὸν εὶ πάντες οἱ προχειριζόμενοί τι πρᾶξαι τὰ μὲν κέρδη καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοιεν, τὰ δὲ εγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ³ ἀναφέροιεν. 25 οὖκουν οὐδὲ τούτω προσέχειν προσήκει λέγοντι ΄ ὑμεῖς γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄρχειν ἐπετρέψατε, ὑμεῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ διοικῆσαι ἐκελεύσατε, ύμεις τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ 4 ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας 2 εδώκατε. εψηφίσθη μεν γάρ ταῦτα οὕτως, εἴγε δεί τοῦτο εἰπείν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτι ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς 5 ἡνάγκασε γνώναι οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγειν,6 οὐδὲ τὸ τοὺς νόμους παρεγγράφειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας πωλείν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ κοινά κλέπτειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων άρπάζειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πόλεις κακουργείν, οὐδὲ τὸ τής πατρίδος τυραννείν ἐπιχειρείν ἐδώκατέ ποτε 3 αὐτῷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλω τινί, καίτοι πολλὰ

¹ ἀναδέξεσθε R. Steph., ἀναδέξασθε Ł.Μ.

² πρεσβευτής R. Steph., πρεσβυτής LM.

 ³ ὁμᾶs R. Steph., ἡμᾶs LM.
 ⁴ τὰ supplied by Rk.
 ⁵ ὁμᾶs R. Steph., ἡμᾶs LM.
 ⁶ κατάγειν Μ, καταγαγεῖν L.

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details, in which you have entrusted business to him to B.C 48 transact as consul, not a bit of which he has performed as the circumstances demanded, but has done quite the opposite, using against you the authority that you granted. Will you, then, take upon yourselves also these base acts that he has committed and say that you yourselves are responsible for all that has happened, because you assigned to him the management and investigation of the matters in question? How absurd! Why, if any one who had been chosen general or envoy should fail in every way to do his duty, you who sent him would not incur the blame for this. Indeed it would be a sorry state of affairs, if all who are elected to perform some task should themselves receive the advantages and the honours, but lay upon you the complaints and the blame. Accordingly, it is not fitting to pay any heed to him when he says, 'But it was you who permitted me to govern Gaul, you who ordered me to administer the public finances, you who gave me the legions from Macedonia.' It is true these measures were voted,—if, indeed, you ought to put it that way, and not, instead, exact punishment from him for his action in compelling you to pass the decree; yet surely you never at any time gave him the right to restore the exiles, to add laws surreptitiously, to sell the privileges of citizenship and of exemption from taxes, to steal the public funds, to plunder the possessions of the allies, to injure the cities, or to undertake to play the tyrant over his native country. In fact, you never

πολλοίς ψηφισάμενοι, συνεχωρήσατε όσα έβούλοντο, άλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἀεί ποτε παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων, δσων γε καὶ ἠδυνήθητε,¹ ἐλάβετε, ὥσπερ που καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου λήψεσθε, ἄν γε ἐμοὶ νῦν 4 πεισθήτε, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων τοιούτος γέγονεν όποίον αὐτὸν ἴστε καὶ ξοράκατε. άλλὰ καί ἐπὶ πάντων άπλῶς ὅσα πώποτε πρὸς

τὰ ² κοινὰ προσελθών πέπραχε.

"Τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βίον τάς τε ἰδίας 26 ἀσελγείας καὶ πλεονεξίας έκων παραλείψω, οὐχ ότι οὐχὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις εὕροι τις ầυ ³ αὖτὸν πεποιηκότα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αἰδοῦμαι νη τὸν 'Ηρακλέα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ધ 2 πρὸς οὐδὲν ἢττον εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, λέγειν ὅπως μὲν την ώραν την έν παισίν⁵ ύμιν διέθετο, όπως δὲ την άκμην την έφ' ήβης άπεκήρυξε, τας έταιρήσεις αὐτοῦ τὰς λαθραίας, τὰς πορνείας τὰς ἐμφανεῖς, οσα επαθεν εως ε ενεδέχετο, οσα εδρασεν άφ' οὖπερ ἠδυνήθη, τοὺς κώμους, τὰς μέθας, τἆλλα 3 πάντα τὰ τούτοις ἐπόμενα. ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστιν ανθρωπον έν τε ασελγεία και εν αναισχυντία τοσαύτη τραφέντα μη ου πάντα τον ξαυτοῦ βίον μιαναι δθενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τὴν κιναιδίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν προήγαγε. 4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τὴν ἐς Αίγυπτον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἀποδημίαν, τήν τε ές Γαλατίαν πρός Καίσαρα ἀπόδρασιν, ίνα μή μέ τις φη πάντα ἀκριβολογείσθαι, αἰσχυνθεὶς ύπεο υμών ότι τοιούτον αυτον όντα είδότες καί

¹ ήδυνήθητε Dind., έδυνήθητε LM. 2 τὰ M, τὸ L. 3 aν supplied by St. 4 καὶ supplied by Pflugk.

⁵ ἐν παισίν R. Steph., ἐν ποσίν L, ἐμποσιν M.

⁶ Ews Bk., &s LM

conceded to any others all that they desired, though B.C. 43 you have voted many privileges to many persons; on the contrary, you have always punished such men so far as you could, as, indeed, you will also punish him, if you take my advice now. For it is not in these matters alone that he has shown himself to be such a man as you know and have seen him to be, but absolutely in all the undertakings which he has ever performed since entering public life.

"His private life and his personal acts of licentiousness and avarice I shall willingly pass over, not because one would fail to discover that he had committed many dreadful deeds of this sort too, but because, by Hercules, I am ashamed to describe minutely and in detail, especially to you who know it as well as I, how he spent his youth among you who were boys at the time, how he sold to the highest bidder the vigour of his prime, his secret lapses from chastity, his open fornications, what he let be done to him as long as it was possible, what he did as early as he could, his revels, his drunken debauches, and all the rest that follows in their train. impossible for a person brought up in so great licentiousness and shamelessness to avoid defiling his entire life; and so from his private life he brought his lewdness and greed into his public relations. shall let this pass, then, and likewise, by Jupiter, his visit to Gabinius in Egypt and his flight to Caesar in Gaul, that I may not be charged with going minutely into every detail; for I feel ashamed for you, that knowing him to be such a man, you

δήμαρχον καὶ ἵππαρχον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ύπατον ἀπεδείξατε α δε επ' αυτοίς τούτοις ἐπαρώνησε 1 καὶ ἐκακούργησε, μόνα νῦν ἐρῶ.

" Ο ύτος τοίνυν δημαρχήσας πρώτον μεν άπάντων έκώλυσεν ύμᾶς τὰ τότε περιστάντα πράγματα εδ θέσθαι, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων 2 εναντιούμενος τη κοινή της πόλεως εἰρήνη, έπειτα δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐψηφίσασθε δί αὐτὸν ἄπερ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως έξέδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπών, ὧ μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων νύκτα ἀποδημησαι ἐξην, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλα αὐτομολήσας ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ την πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ ὑμᾶς ² ἔκ τε της 'Ρώμης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας ὅλης ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐνὶ λόγφ ³ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων τῶν μετά ταθθ' υμιν 4 συμβάντων αιτιώτατος έγένετο. 3 εί γαρ μη τότε τοις βουλήμασιν υμών 5 άντεπεπράχει, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε 6 σκηψιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολέμων εὐρήκει, οὔτε εἰ καὶ κὰ μάλιστα ἀπηναισχύντει, δύναμίν γέ τινα . ἀξιόχρεων παρὰ τὰ δόγματα ὑμῶν ε ἡθροίκει, άλλ' ήτοι έκων έκ των δπλων απήλλακτο 9 ή καί 4 άκων έσεσωφρόνιστο, νῦν δὲ οὖτός έστιν ὁ καὶ έκείνω τὰς προφάσεις ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς άξίωμα καταλύσας, τό τε θράσος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπαυξήσας οὖτος ὁ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν κακῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκφύντων ἐμβαλών, οὖτος δ κοινὸς άλιτήριος οὐχ ήμῶν μόνον άλλὰ καὶ τῆς

¹ ἐπαρώνησε St., παρωίνησε LM 2 ὑμᾶς Η. Steph, ἡμᾶς LM. ³ ἐνὶ λόγω Pflugk, ἐν ὀλίγωι LM.
 ¹ ὁμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν LM.
 ⁶ οὅτε Bk, οδτος LM

 ⁵ ὁμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν LM.
 ⁶ οὅτε Bk., οδῦτος
 ⁷ γέ Rk., τέ LM.
 ⁸ ὁμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν LM.

⁹ ἀπήλλακτο supplied by Bk.

appointed him tribune and master of the horse and B c. 48 subsequently consul. But I shall at present mention only his acts of drunken insolence and of villainy in these very offices.

"Well, then, when he was tribune, he first of all prevented you from accomplishing satisfactorily the business you then had in hand, by shouting and bawling and alone of all the people opposing the public peace of the state, until you became vexed and because of his conduct passed the vote that you did. Then, though, as tribune, he was not permitted by law to absent himself for a single night, he ran away from the city, abandoning the duties of his office, and going as a deserter to Caesar's camp, brought Caesar back against his country, drove you out of Rome and from all the rest of Italy, and, in short, became the prime cause of all the civil disorders that have since taken place among you. Had he not at that time acted contrary to your wishes, Caesar would never have found an excuse for the wars and could not, in spite of all his shamelessness, have gathered a sufficient force in defiance of your resolutions; but he would either have voluntarily laid down his arms or have been brought to his senses unwillingly. As it is, this fellow is the man who furnished Caesar with his excuses, who destroyed the prestige of the senate, who increased the audacity of the soldiers. He it is who planted the seeds of the evils which sprang up afterward; he it is who has proved the common bane, not only of us, but also of practically

οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου πάσης γενόμενος, ὥς που καὶ 5 τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐναργῶς ἐσήμηνεν. ὅτε γοῦν τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ἐκείνους νόμους ἐσέφερε, βροντῶν πάντα καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπληρώθη. ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ μιαρὸς οὖτος, καίπερ οἰωνιστὴς εἶναι λέγων, φροντίσας, κακῶν καὶ πολέμων,¹ ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐ τὴν πόλιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπλήρωσε.

"Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν τί μεν δεῖ λέγειν ὡς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἱππάρχησεν, ὁ μήπω πρότερον 28 ἐγεγόνει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ τότε μεθύων ² τε ἐπαρώνει κὰν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὴν κραιπάλην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ

- 2 βήματος μεταξύ δημηγορών ἐξήμει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ πόρνους καὶ πόρνας, καὶ γελωτοποιούς οὐχ ὅτι ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων δαφνηφορούντων ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Ἱταλίαν περι-
- 3 ήει; τί δ' ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου οὐσίαν μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἀγοράσαι ἐτόλμησε, μήτε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀξίωμα μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην αἰδεσθείς, ἀλλε ἐφ' οἶς πάντες ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐθρηνοῦμεν, ταῦτα μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀρπάσας; καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπεπήδησεν ὡς μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν τιμὴν
- 4 ἀποδώσων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως καὶ βίας ἐσεπράχθη· οὕτως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ κατέγνω· καὶ πάνθ' ὅσαπερ ἐκτήσατο, παμπληθῆ τε γενόμενα καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀργυρολογη- θέντα, κατακεκύβευκε καὶ καταπεπόρνευκε καὶ καταβέβρωκε καὶ καταπέπωκεν ὅσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις.

29 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν³ ἐάσω τὰς δὲ δὴ ὕβρεις ὰς τὸ κοινὸν ὕβρισε, καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ᾶς κατὰ

¹ πολέμων Dind.. πολλών LM.

² μεθύων Rk., μεθ' ὑμῶν LM. ³ οὖν supplied by Schenkl.

the whole world, as, indeed, Heaven clearly indicated. B.C 48 For when he proposed those astonishing laws, the whole city was filled with thunder and lightning. Yet this accursed fellow paid no attention to all this, though he claims to be an augur, but filled not only the city but also the whole world with evils and with wars, as I have said.

"Now after this is there any need of mentioning that he served as master of the horse a whole year, something which had never before occurred? Or that during this period also he was drunk and maudlin and in the assemblies would frequently vomit the remains of yesterday's debauch on the very rostra in the midst of his harangues? Or that he went about Italy at the head of pimps and prostitutes and buffoons, women as well as men, in the company of his lictors bearing their festoons of laurel? Or that he alone of all men dared to buy the estate of Pompey, having no regard for his own dignity or that great man's memory, but grasping with delight these possessions over which we all even at that time lamented? Indeed, he fairly threw himself upon this and many other estates with the expectation of making no recompense for them. Yet the price was nevertheless exacted from him with every indignity and show of violence; so thoroughly did even Caesar condemn his course. And all that he has acquired, vast in extent and levied from every source, he has swallowed up in dicing, in harlotry, in feasting and in drinking, like a second Charybdis.

"All this, now, I will omit, but regarding the insults which he offered to the state and the blood-

πασαν όμοίως την πόλιν είργάσατο, πως άν τις σιωπήσειεν; ἡ οὐ μέμνησθε πῶς βαρὺς μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτῆ τῆ ὄψει, βαρύτατος δὲ 2 τοις έργοις εγένετο; όστις, ω γη καὶ θεοί, πρώτον μεν ετόλμησεν ενταθθα, εντός του τείχους, εν τη άγορα, εν τω βουλευτηρίω καλ εν τω Καπιτωλίω, τό τε έσθημα άμα τὸ περιπόρφυρον ενδύεσθαι καὶ ξίφος παραζώννυσθαι δαβδούχοις τε χρησθαι 3 καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν δορυφορεῖσθαι ἔπειτα δυνηθεὶς ἂν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων θορύβους καταπαῦσαι, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ όμονοοθντας ύμας έστασίασεν, τη μέν αὐτὸς τη δὲ καὶ δι' έτέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτούς ἐκείνους ἐν τῷ μέρει προσλαμβάνων, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν συναιρόμενός σφισι τοτέ δὲ ἐναντιούμενος, αἰτιώτατος μεν εγένετο τοῦ 2 παμπληθεῖς σφων σφαγήναι, 4 αἰτιώτατος δὲ τοῦ μὴ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πόντου τῶν τε Πάρθων εὐθὺς τότε ἐπὶ τῆ κατὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου νίκη χειρωθήναι πρός γάρ τοι τὰ πραττόμενα ύπ' αὐτοῦ δεῦρο διὰ ταχέων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπειχθεις οὐδὲν ἐκείνων, ὡς γε³ καὶ ἠδυνήθη, παντελῶς κατειργάσατο.

30 "Καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ' ὑπατεύσας γυμνός, ὧ πατέρες, γυμνὸς καὶ μεμυρισμένος ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε, πρόφασιν τὰ Λυκαῖα ποιησάμενος, κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τῶν ἑαβδούχων προσῆλθε, καὶ ἐκεῖ κάτωθεν 2 ἐδημηγόρησεν ὅπερ, ἀφ' οῦ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις, οὐδένα ἄλλον οὐχ ὅτι ὕπατον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ δήμαργον οὐδ' ἀγορανόμον οὐδὲὶς οἶδε πε-

 $^{^{1}}$ σφισι τοτὲ δὲ ἐναντιούμενος supplied by Bk. 2 τοῦ supplied by Bk. 3 γε Rk , τε LM.

shed which he caused throughout the whole city alike B.0 48 how could any man remain silent? Do you not recall how oppressive the very sight of him was to you, but most of all his deeds? Why, merciful heavens, he first dared, within the city walls, in the Forum, in the senate-house, on the Capitol, at one and the same time to array himself in the purplebordered robe and to gird on a sword, to employ lictors and to have a body-guard of soldiers.1 Then, when he might have checked the turmoil of the others, he not only failed to do so, but even set you at variance when you were harmonious, partly by his own acts and partly with the aid of others. Nav more, he took up those very factions in turn, and by now assisting them and now opposing them was chiefly responsible for great numbers of them being slain and for the fact that the whole region of Pontus and Parthia was not subdued at that time immediately after the victory over Pharnaces. For Caesar, hastening hither with all speed to see what he was doing, did not entirely complete any of those projects, as he certainly might have done.

"And even this result did not sober him, but when he was consul he came naked-naked, Conscript Fathers-and anointed into the Forum, taking the Lupercalia as an excuse, then proceeded in company with his lictors toward the rostra, and there harangued us while standing below. Why, from the day the city was founded no one can point to any one else, even a praetor, or tribune, or aedile, much less a

¹ Cf. xlu. 27, 2; xlvi. 16, 5.

ποιηκότα. τὰ γὰρ Λυκαῖα ἢν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐτέτακτο ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸν ὁ Κλώδιος τῶν δισχιλίων πλέθρων τῶν ἐν 3 τῆ Λεοντίνων γῆ δοθέντων ἐξεπαίδευσεν. ἀλλὰ και υπάτευες, ὧ χρηστέ (ἐρῶ γὰρ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα σε), καὶ οὔτε ἔπρεπέ σοι οὔτε ἐξῆν τοιούτω ουτι εν τη άγορα προς τω βήματι, πάντων ήμων παρόντων, τοιαθτ' είπειν, "ν' άμα τε τὸ θαυμαστόν σου σῶμα καὶ εὔσαρκον καὶ βδελυρὸν θεωρώμεν, καὶ τῆς μιαράς σου φωνής τῆς μεμυρισ-4 μένης τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα λεγούσης ἀκούωμεν τοῦτο γαρ περί τοῦ στόματός σου μᾶλλον ή τι ἔτερον εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Λυκαῖα καὶ ἄλλως αν της προσηκούσης θρησκείας οὐκ ἀπέτυχε,2 σὺ δὲ πᾶσαν όμου τὴν πόλιν κατήσχυνας, ίνα μηδὲν 5 μηδέπω περί τῶν τότε λεχθέντων εἰπω· τίς γὰρ ούκ οίδεν ότι ή υπατεία δημοσία του δήμου παντός έστι, καὶ δεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ σώζεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ μήτε γυμνοῦσθαι μήθ 31 υβρίζεσθαι. τάχα γ' αν ούτος η τον Όράτιον τον παλαιον ἐκείνον ἢ καὶ τὴν Κλοιλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν έμιμήσατο, ὧν ή μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐνδεδυκυῖα τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ές τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐαυτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἄξιόν γε (οὐ γάρ;) καὶ τούτου τινὰ εἰκόνα στήσαι, ἵν᾽ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῶ Τιβέριδι ώπλισμένος, ό δὲ καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾶ γυμνὸς 2 δρώτο. καὶ γάρ τοι διὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔσωζον καὶ ήλευθέρουν, ούτος δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν την έλευθερίαν ημών, όσον έπ' αὐτῶ ην, ἀφείλετο,

ἐν supplied by Xyl.
 οὐκ ἀπέτυχε Bs., οὐκ ἔτυχε LM.

BOOK XLV

consul, who ever did such a thing. But it was the BC. 43 Lupercalia, you will say, and he had been put in charge of the Julian College. 1 Of course, though, it was Sextus Clodius who had trained him to conduct himself so, in return for the two thousand plethra of the land of Leontini.2 But you were consul, my fine fellow,-for I will address you as though you were present,—and it was neither proper nor permissible for you as such to speak thus in the Forum, hard by the rostra, with all of us present, and to cause us not only to behold your wonderful body, so plump and detestable, but also to hear your accursed voice, dripping with unguents, uttering those outrageous words,—for I wish to speak of this matter of your mouth rather than anything else. The Lupercalia would not have failed of its proper reverence without this; but you disgraced the whole city at once,to say nothing as yet about your remarks on that occasion. For who does not know that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dienity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly? Perchance he was imitating the famous Horatius of old or Cloeha of bygone days; yet the latter swam across the river with all her clothing on, and the former cast himself with his armour into the flood. It would be fitting, would it not, to set up a statue of Antony also, so that as the one man is seen armed even in the Tiber so the other might be seen naked even in the Forum. It was by such conduct as has been cited that those heroes of yore were wont to preserve us and give us liberty, while he took away all our liberty from us, so far as was in his power,

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² Cf. cie. Philip. ii 4, 17, 34, 39; iii. 9.

πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσεν, καὶ δεσπότην μέν άντι ύπάτου τύραννον δε άντι δικτάτορος ήμιν αντικατέστησε. 1 μέμνησθε γάρ οία μεν προσελθών πρὸς τὸ βημα εἶπεν, οἶα δὲ ἀνα-3 βάς ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἔπραξε. καίτοι ὅστις ἐτόλμησε, 'Ρωμαΐός τε ων και ύπατεύων, βασιλέα τινά 'Ρωμαίων έν τε τη άγορα τη 'Ρωμαία καί πρὸς τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ, παντὸς μέν τοῦ δήμου πάσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς παρούσης ἀνειπεῖν, καὶ τό τε διάδημα εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ 4 ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ προσκαταψεύσασθαι πάντων ἡμῶν άκουόντων ὅτι αὐτοὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πράξαι ἐπεσκήψαμεν, τί μεν οὐκ αν των δεινοτάτων τολμήσειε, τίνος δ' αν των χαλεπωτάτων 32 ἀπόσχοιτο; ήμεῖς, ὧ 'Αντώνιε, ήμεῖς σοι ² ταῦτ' ενετειλάμεθα, οί τούς Ταρκυνίους ⁸ εξελάσαντες, οί τὸν Βροῦτον ἀγαπήσαντες, οί τὸν Καπιτωλίνον 4 κατακρημνίσαντες, οί τὸν Σπούριον ἀποκτείναντες; 2 ήμεις βασιλέα τινα ασπάσασθαί σε προσετάξαμεν, οί καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικτάτορος δι' ἐκείνην, έπάρατον ποιησάμενοι; ήμεις τύραννόν τινα άποδείξαί σοι ἐκελεύσαμεν, οἱ τὸν Πύρρον ἐκ τῆς 'Ιταλίας ἐκβαλόντες, οἱ τὸν 'Αντίοχον ὑπὲρ τὸν Ταθρον άπελάσαντες, οί και Μακεδονίαν τυραν-3 νουμένην παύσαντες; οὐ μὰ τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς Οὐαλερίου καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν Πορκίου, οὐ μὰ τὸ σκέλος τὸ Ὁ ρατίου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν Μουκίου, οὐ 4 μὰ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου. σὺ

 $^{^1}$ ἀντικατέστησε M, ἀντεκατέστησε L.

² σοι M, οί L. ³ Ταρκυνίουs R. Steph., ταρκυινίους LM.

BOOK XLV

destroyed the whole republic, and set up a despot B C. 48 in place of a consul, a tyrant in place of a dictator over us. For you recall the nature of his language when he approached the rostra, and the manner of his behaviour when he had mounted it. And vet, when a man who is a Roman and a consul has dared to name any one king of the Romans in the Roman Forum, beside the rostra of liberty, in the presence of the whole people and the whole senate, and straightway to set the diadem upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say and do this, what outrageous deed will that man not dare, and from what terrible act will he refrain? Did we lay this injunction upon you, Antony, we who expelled the Tarquins, who cherished Brutus, who hurled Capitolinus headlong, who put Spurius to death? Did we order you to salute any offe as king, we who laid a curse upon the very name of king and because of it upon that of dictator as well? Did we command you to appoint any one tyrant, we who repulsed Pyrrhus from Italy, who drove Antiochus back beyond the Taurus, who put an end to tyranny even in Macedonia? No, by the rods of Valerius and the law of Porcius, no, by the leg of Horatius and the hand of Mucius, no, by the spear of Decius and the sword of Brutus! But you, unspeakable

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¹ P. Valerius Publicola, consul in s.c. 509, lowered his fasces upon entering the assembly in token of the superior power of the people. See Frag. 13, 2, and Livy ii. 7.

δέ, & παγκάκιστε, καὶ έδέου καὶ ἱκέτευες ΐνα δουλεύσης, ώς Ποστούμιος ὅπως Σαυνίταις ἐκδοθῆ,1 ώς Υήγουλος όπως Καρχηδονίοις αποδοθή, ώς Κούρτιος ΐνα ές τὸ χάσμα ἐμπέση. καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο γεγραμμένον 2 εύρες; οῦπερ 3 και τὸ τοὺς Κρητας ελευθέρους μετά την του Βρούτου άρχην γενέσθαι, ων ήμεις εκείνον μετά τον του Καίσαρος

θάνατον ἄρξαι έψηφισάμεθα.

33 "Εἶτ' ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν άλιτηριώδη γνώμην αὐτοῦ πεφωρακότες οὐ τιμωρήσεσθε αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἀναμενεῖτε 4 καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μαθείν τί αν δράσειεν ύμας ωπλισμένος ό τοιαθτα 2 γυμνὸς εἰργασμένος; ἡ οἴεσθε ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ της τυραννίδος, ότι οὐκ εὐχεταί ποτε αὐτης τυχείν, άλλ' ἐκβαλεῖ ποτε ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἔφεσιν ταύτην, ην άπαξ ές τὸν νοῦν ἐγκατέθετο, καὶ καταβαλεί ποτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὑπὲρ ής τοιαθτα καλ είπων καλ ποιήσας άτιμώρητος 3 ἐγένετο; καὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων \mathring{a}^5 ἄλλ \wp τ \wp συμπράξαι, τής φωνής τής αύτου μόνης κυριεύων, ἐπιχειρήσειε, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δυνηθείς κατεργάσαιτο; τίς δ' αν έτερον τύραννον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄμα ἀποδείξαι τολμήσας οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς μοναρχήσαι 34 εθελήσειεν; ώστε εί και τότε αὐτοῦ εφείσασθε, άλλα νῦν γε καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα αὐτὸν μισήσατε μηδ' έθελήσητε μαθείν τί κατορθώσας δσα 6 βούλεται δράσει, άλλ' έκ των ήδη προτετολμημένων αὐτώ

7 δράσει Rk., δράσειν LM.

¹ ἐκδοθῆ, ἀποδοθῆ, ἐμπέση Rk., ἐκδοθῆις, ἀποδοθῆις, ἐμπέσηις Μ. ² γεγραμμένον R. Steph., γεγραμμένος LM.

 ³ οῦπερ Βk., ἄσπερ LM.
 ⁴ ἀναμενείτε Pflugk, ἀναμένετε LM.
 ⁵ ἃ supplied by Reim.
 ⁶ ὅσα Rk., οῖα LM.

villain, begged and pled to be made a slave, as B.C. 48 Postumius pled to be delivered to the Samnites, as Regulus to be given back to the Carthaginians, as Curtius that he might hurl himself into the chasm. And where did you find this recorded? In the same place, I suppose, where you discovered that the Cretans were to be made free after Brutus' governorship, although it was after Caesar's death that we voted he should govern them.

"So then, seeing that you have discovered his baneful disposition in so many and so great matters, will you not take vengeance on him instead of waiting to learn by experience, too; what the man who caused so much trouble stripped would do to you when he is armed? Do you think that he is not eager for the tyrant's power, that he does not pray to obtain it some time, but will some day cast the desire of it out of his thoughts after having once allowed it a resting-place in his mind, and will some day abandon the hope of sole rulership for which he has spoken and acted as he has with impunity? What human being who, while possessing nothing but his own voice, would undertake to help some one else to secure certain advantages, would not win them for himself when he gained the power? Who that has dared to name another as tyrant over his country and himself as well would not wish to be monarch himself? Hence, even though you spared him then, hate him now for those acts too. Do not wish to learn what he will do when his success equals his desires, but taught by his previous audacity, plan

2 τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν παθεῖν προνοήσατε. καὶ γάρ τοι τί καὶ φήσειεν ἄν τις: ὀρθώς τότε τὸν Καίσαρα ποιήσαι μη προσδεξάμενον μήτε το όνομα τοῦ βασιλέως μήτε τὸ διάδημα; οὐκοῦν οὖτος κακώς ταύτα αὐτώ προύτεινεν α μηδε εκείνον 3 ήρεσεν. άλλ' άμαρτειν ότι και την άρχην τοιουτό τι ἀκούσας καὶ ἰδὼν ἡνέσχετο; οὐκοῦν εἴπερ έκεινος εικότως έπι τούτοις τέθνηκε, πώς οὐ καί ούτος, όμολογων τρόπον τινά τυραννήσαι ἐπιθυ-4 μείν, δικαιότατός έστιν ἀπολέσθαι; ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ' ούτως έχει, δήλου μέν έστι καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὧν προείρηκα, φανερώτατα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἐλέγχεται. τίνος μεν γὰρ ἄλλου ένεκα, έξον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσφαλῶς ἄγειν, ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ πολυπραγμονείν ἐπι-5 κεγείρηκε: τίνος δέ, παρον αὐτῶ ἀκινδύνως οἴκοι μένειν, στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπανήρηται; διὰ τί, πολλων μηδε ες τὰς επιβαλούσας αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς Βουληθέντων έξελθείν, ούτος ούχ ότι της Γαλατίας ούδεν αύτω προσηκούσης άντιποιείται, άλλα καί 6 ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν βιάζεται; διὰ τί, τοῦ Βρούτου τοῦ Δεκίμου καὶ ξαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ήμιν 1 παραδιδόντος, ούτος ούχ όπως ούκ εμιμήσατο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιορκεῖ κατακλείσας; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι καὶ ἐφ' ήμας 2 κακείνα και τάλλα πάντα παρασκευάζεται.

35 "Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁρῶντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα, καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ³ τύραννον ἀσκοῦμεν ; καὶ πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐν δουλεία τραφέντας ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐλευθερίας,

 $^{^1}$ ήμ \hat{a} ν Η. Steph., ὁμ \hat{a} ν Ι. 2 ήμ \hat{a} ν Η. Steph., ὁμ \hat{a} ν LM. 3 αὀτοὸς Βk , αὀτον LM.

beforehand to suffer no further harm. What, in- B.C. 43 deed, is one to say? That Caesar acted rightly at that time in accepting neither the name of king nor the diadem? Then this man did wrong to offer something which pleased not even Caesar. Or, on the other hand, that Caesar erred in enduring at all to look on and listen to anything of the sort? If, then, Caesar justly suffered death for this error, does not this man, also, who admitted in a way that he desired to be tyrant, most richly deserve to perish? That this is so is evident even from what I have previously said, but is proved most clearly by what he did after that. For with what other object than supremacy has he undertaken to stir up trouble and to meddle in affairs, when he might have enjoyed quiet with safety? With what other object has he chosen to make campaigns and to carry on war, when it was in his power to remain at home without danger? For what reason, when many have been unwilling to go out and take charge even of the provinces that fell to them, does he not only lay claim to Gaul, which does not belong to him in the least, but uses force upon it because of its unwillingness? For what reason, when Decimus Brutus is ready to surrender to us himself and his soldiers and his cities, has this man not imitated him, instead of shutting him up and besieging him? Surely it can only be for this purpose and against us that he is strengthening himself in this and in every other

Eseing all this, then, do we delay and give way to weakness and train up so monstrous a tyrant against ourselves? Would it not be disgraceful if, after our forefathers, who had been brought up in slavery,

2 ήμας δὲ ἐν αὐτονομία πολιτευθέντας ἐθελοδουλῆσαι, καὶ τῆς μὲν μοναρχίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ήδέως, καίπερ 1 πολλά ύπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προπαθόντας, ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τοῦτον δὲ δεσπότην αὐθαίρετον ἀνθελέσθαι, δς τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου χείρων ἐστὶν ὅσον ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κρατήσας 3 πολλών έφείσατο, ούτος δέ, πρίν και δυνηθηναί τι, τριακοσίους στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους τινάς, μηδεν άδικήσαντας, οἴκοι παρ' έαυτῷ, παρούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ βλεπούσης, έφονευσεν, ώστε καὶ τοῦ αίματος αὐτὴν ἀναπλῆκαίτοι τὸν ούτως ώμῶς ἐκείνοις, ὅτε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ἄφειλε, χρησάμενον τί οὐκ οἴεσθε 2 τῶν δεινοτάτων πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἂν καὶ νικήση, ποιήσειν; καὶ τὸν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω μέχρι νθν βεβιωκότα πως ούκ ἐπὶ παν ὕβρεως, αν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίαν προσλάβη, χωρήσειν νομίζετε:

36 "Μὴ τοίνυν ἀναμείνητε παθόντες τι τοιοῦτο μεταγνῶναι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξασθε σχέτλιον γάρ, ἐξὸν προκαταλαβεῖν τὰ δεινά, εἶτα περιιδόντας αὐτὰ γενόμενα μετανοῆσαι. μηδὲ ἐθελήσητε, προέμενοι τὰ παρόντα, Κασσίου τινὸς αὖθις ἄλλου καὶ Βρούτων ³ τινῶν ἄλλων δεηθῆναι γελοῖον γάρ, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς τὰ κατὰ καιρὸν βοηθῆσαι, ζητεῖν μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας 2 ἡμᾶς. οὺς ἴσως οὐδὲ εὐρήσομεν, ἄλλως τε κὰν οὕτω τοῖς παροῦσι χρησώμεθα. τίς γὰρ ὰν ἰδία ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας κινδυνεῦσαι ἐθελήσειεν,

¹ καίπερ M by correction, και L (and M originally).

οἴεσθε R. Steph., οἴεσθαι LM.
 Βρούτων Μ, βρούτου τῶν L.

BOOK XLV

felt the desire for liberty, we, who have lived under a B.G. 48 free government, should become slaves of our own accord? Or, again, if after gladly ridding ourselves of the dominion of Caesar, though we had already received many benefits at his hands, we should deliberately choose as our master in his stead this man, who is far worse than he? For Caesar spared many after his victories in war, whereas this man before attaining any power slaughtered three hundred soldiers. among them some centurions, guilty of no wrongdoing, in his own country, and in the presence and sight of his wife, so that she was actually stained with their blood. And vet what do you think the man who treated them so cruelly, when he owed them care, will not do to all of you,-aye, down to the utmost outrage,-if he shall conquer? And how can you believe that the man who has lived so licentiously up to the present time will not proceed to every extreme of insolence, if he shall also secure the authority given by arms?

•"Do not, then, wait until you have suffered some such treatment and then rue it, but be on your guard before you suffer; for it is rash to allow dangers to come upon you and then to repent of it, when you might have anticipated them. And do not choose to neglect the present opportunity and then ask again for another Cassius or other Brutuses; for it is ridiculous, when we have the power of aiding ourselves in time, to seek men later on to set us free. Perhaps we shall not find them, either, especially if we handle the present situation in such a manner. For who would choose to encounter danger personally for the republic, when he sees that

όρων ήμας δημοσία πρός την δουλείαν έτοίμως έχοντας; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεταί ποτε ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττοσιν ἐφ' 3 ήμας αὐξάνεται, παντὶ δήλον ἐστιν. οὐ γάρ που δι άλλο τι Δεκίμφ πολεμεῖ καὶ Μούτιναν πολιορκει η ίνα νικήσας αύτους και λαβων έφ' ήμας συσκευάσηται ούτε γαρ ηδίκηταί τι ύπ' αὐτῶν ὥστ' ἀμύνασθαι δοκεῖν, οὖτ' αὖ τῶν μὲν άγαθῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο και πόνους και κινδύνους ύπομένει, των δ' ήμετέρων, οὶ καὶ ἐκείνα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κεκτήμεθα, 4 εθελοντής αφέξεται. τοῦτ' οὖν αναμενοῦμεν, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα προσλαβών δυσπολέμητος γένηται; καὶ πιστεύσομεν 1 έξαπατώντι 37 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι² οὐ πολεμεῖ τῆ πόλει; καὶ τίς ούτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὥστε τοῖς ῥήμασι μᾶλλον η τοίς έργοις του πολεμούντα ήμιν η μη σκοπείν; έγω μέν γάρ οὐ νῦν πρώτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εκδεδρακε και επι τούς συμμάχους εστράτευκε καὶ Βρούτω προσβάλλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις πολιού-2 κεί, κακόνουν 3 αὐτὸν ήμίν εἶναί φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ έξ ὧν πρότερόν ποτε, οὐχ ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος άλλὰ καὶ ζώντος ἔτι, καὶ κακώς καὶ άσελγῶς ἔπραξεν, καὶ ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ της πολιτείας και της έλευθερίας ημών γεγονέναι 3 διορίζομαι τίς γὰρ ἂν τὴν πατρίδα φιλών ἢ τίς τυραννίδα μισών έν γε τι τούτων έποίησεν à πολλά καὶ παυτοδαπά οὖτος δέδρακε; πολέμιος μεν δη πάλαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὢν ἡμῖν ἐλέγγεται,

² δτι supplied by Dind.

¹ πιστεύσομεν R. Steph., πιστεύσωμεν LM.

³ κακόνουν R. Steph., κακόν οδν LM.

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we are publicly resigned to slavery? And yet it B.C. 43 is evident to everybody that Antony will not stop short with what he is now doing, but that even in remote and smaller matters he is strengthening himself against us. Surely he is warring against Decimus and besieging Mutina for no other purpose than that he may, after conquering them, take them and employ them against us. For he has not been wronged by them, that he can appear to be defending himself: nor, again, will he, while desiring the goods that they possess and with this in view enduring toils and dangers, be willing to refrain from the possessions belonging to us, who own their property and much besides. Shall we, then, wait for him to secure this prize and still others, and thus become a dangerous foe? Shall we trust his decention when he says that he is not warring against the city? Who is so simple as to decide whether a man is making war on us or not by his words rather than by his deeds? I claim that this is not the first time he has ben unfriendly to us, now that he has abandoned the city and made a campaign against our allies and is assailing Brutus and besieging the cities; but in view of his former evil and licentious behaviour, not only after Caesar's death but even in the latter's lifetime. I decide that he has shown himself an enemy of our government and of our liberty and a plotter against them. For who that loved his country or hated tyranny would have committed a single one of the many and manifold offences which he has perpetrated? Surely he is proved to have been for a long time and in every way an enemy of ours, and the case stands

ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. ἂν μὲν ἤδη καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἀμυνώμεθα αὐτόν, πάντα καὶ τὰ προειμένα ¹ 4 ἀναληψόμεθα ἂν δ' ἀμελήσαντες τοῦτο ποιεῖν περιμένωμεν έως αν ήμιν αυτός εκείνος επιβουλεύειν δμολογήση, πάντων άμαρτησόμεθα. τοῦτο μεν γαρ ούδ' αν προς αυτην την πόλιν προσελαύνη ποιήσει, ώσπερ οὐδ' ὁ Μάριος οὐδ' ὁ Κίννας οὐδ 5 ο Σύλλας· ἂν δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γένηται, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ δράσει τῶν αὐτῶν έκείνοις, ή και χαλεπώτερον. ἄλλα τε γὰρ λέγειν οί πράξαι τι 2 γλιχόμενοι καὶ άλλα ποιείν οί κατορθώσαντες εἰώθασι· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ κρατήσαι τούτου πάντα πλάττονται, τυχόντες δè 6 αὐτοῦ οὐδενὸς ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀπέχονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τετολμημένα τισὶν οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοι νικᾶν ἀεὶ ἐθέλουσι, τὸ μὲν ὅμοιον ὡς καὶ σμικρὸν έκ τοῦ προπεπραχθαι νομίζοντες, τὸ δὲ ἄτοπον ώς καὶ μόνου³ σφῶν ἄξιον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου προαιρούμενοι.

38 "Ταῦτ' οῦν ὁρῶντες, ὧ πατέρες, μηκέτι μέλλωμεν, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥαστώνης δελεαζώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας 2 προιδώμεθα. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Καίσαρα μέν, ἄρτι τε ἐκ παίδων προεληλυθότα καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἐξ οὖ χρόνος ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγεγραμμένον, τοσαύτην τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι ὥστε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ στρατιώτας ἀθροίζειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ μήτ' αὐτούς τι τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι μήτε ἐκείνω

3 μόνον Reim., μόνων LM.

¹ προειμένα R. Steph., προιεμένα LM.

² πράξαί τι Pflugk, τι πράξαι Rk., πράξαι LM.

thus. If we now take measures against him most b.c 43 speedily, we shall also recover all that has been lost; but if we neglect to do this and wait till he himself admits that he is plotting against us, we shall lose everything. For this he will never do, not even if he should actually march upon the city, any more than did Marius or Cinna or Sulla; yet if he gets control of affairs, he will not fail to act precisely as they did, or still worse. For men who are eager to accomplish some object are wont to say one thing, and those who have succeeded in accomplishing it are wont to do quite a different thing; to gain their end they pretend anything, but after obtaining it there is no desire they deny themselves. Furthermore, the latest comers always desire to surpass what their predecessors have ventured, thinking it a small achievement to behave like them because that has been done before, but preferring to do something original as the only thing worthy of themselves, because unexpected.

"Seeing all this, then, Conscript Fathers, let us no longer delay nor fall a prey to the indifference of the moment, but let us provide for the safety of the future. Is it not shameful, when Caesar, who has just emerged from boyhood and was but recently registered among the youths of military age, shows so great thought for the state as to spend his money and gather soldiers for its preservation, that we should neither choose to perform our duty ourselves

συνάρασθαι 1 προελέσθαι, καίπερ πειραν έργω της 3 εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ εἰληφότας; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι² εί μή μετά των έκ της Καμπανίας στρατιωτών ένταθθα ἀφικτο, πάντως ἂν 3 'Αντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μετά πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥσπερ τις γει-4 μάρρους ἐσεπεπτώκει; καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δείνον, τούς μεν πάλαι έστρατευμένους έκουσίους έαυτούς ύμιν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐπιδεδωκέναι, μήτε την ηλικίαν μήτε τὰ τραύματα, ἃ πρότερόν ποτε πολεμούντες ύπερ ύμων έλαβον, ύπολογισαμένους, ύμας 4 δὲ μηδὲ ἐπικυρῶσαι τὸν πόλεμον έθελησαι του υπ' αυτών έκείνων προ-5 κεχειροτονημένον, άλλὰ τοσούτω χείρους καὶ τῶν κινδυνευόντων αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ώστε ἐπαινεῖν μέν τούς στρατιώτας τούς τήν τε μιαρίαν τοῦ ἀΑντωνίου κατιδόντας καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν καὶ ύπατεύοντος ἀποστάντας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι, τοῦτ' έστιν ύμιν δι' αὐτοῦ, προσθεμένους, ἃ δ' ὀρθώς αὐτοὺς πεποιηκέναι φατέ, ταῦτ' ὀκνῆσαι ψηφίσα-6 σθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Βρούτω χάριν ἴσμεν ὅτι μήτε τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐσεδέξατο τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἐς την Γαλατίαν και νθν έπιστρατεύσαντα άπωθείται. τί ποτ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιούμεν; τί δε οὐ τοὺς ἄλλους οὺς ὀρθώς 39 φρονοῦντας ἐπαινοῦμεν, μιμούμεθα 5; καίτοι δυοῖν ήμας ανάγκη θάτερου, ή τούτους πάντας, τὸν Καίσαρα λέγω, του Βρούτου, τους πάλαι στρατιώ-

¹ συνάρασθαι R. Steph., συναίρασθαι LM.

² δτι added by Dind. ³ αν added by Bk.

δμᾶs Bs., ἡμᾶs LM.
 μιμούμεθα Reim. (so L by correction), οὐ μιμούμεθα Μ.

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nor to cooperate with him, even after obtaining a B.C 43 tangible proof of his good-will? For who does not realize that, if he had not arrived here with the soldiers from Campania, Antony would certainly have rushed at once from Brundisium, just as he was, and would have burst into our city with all his armies like a torrent? This also is disgraceful, that when the veterans have voluntarily placed themselves at your service for the present crisis, taking thought neither for their age nor for the wounds which they received in past years while fighting for you, you should both refuse to approve the war already declared by these very men, and show yourselves altogether inferior to them who are facing the dangers. For while you praise the soldiers who discovered the wickedness of Antony and withdrew from him, though he was consul, and attached themsaves to Caesar,—that is, to you through him,—you shrink from voting for that which you say they were right in doing. And yet we are grateful to Brutus because he not only did not admit Antony to Gaul in the first place, but is trying to repel him now that the other has made a campaign against him. Why in the world, then, do we not do the same ourselves? Why do we not imitate the rest whom we praise for their proper attitude? Yet there are only two courses open to us: either we must say that all these men, Caesar, I mean, and Brutus, the veterans,

τας, τὰ στρατόπεδα, κακῶς τε βεβουλεῦσθαι φάναι καὶ τιμωρίαν δείν ὑποσχείν ὅτι μήθ' ἡμῶν ² μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένων ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ μὲν τον υπατόν σφων καταλιπόντες οι δε επ' αὐτον 2 άθροισθέντες, προσπολεμήσαι αὐτῷ. 'Αντώνιον πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν³ ὑφ' ἡμῶν⁴ τοῖς έργοις αὐτοῖς πολέμιον ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι κεκρίσθαι, καὶ χρηναι καὶ κοινή γνώμη πρὸς πάντων ήμων κολασθήναι. και μην ότι τοῦτο οὐ μόνον δικαιότερον άλλα και λυσιτελέστερον ήμιν 5 έστιν, 3 οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ 6 οὕτ' αὐτὸς χρήσασθαί πράγμασιν ἐπίσταται (πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν ἄνθρωπος έν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις ζων;) ούτε των συνόντων οὐδένα οίον ἄξιον εἶναι λόγου ἔχει· τοὺς γάρ τοι ὁμοίους ἐαυτῷ μόνους καὶ ἀγαπῷ καὶ κοινωνοὺς 4 άπάντων καὶ ρητών καὶ ἀπορρήτων ποιείται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δειλότατος ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἀπιστότατος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πάνυ φίλους έστίν ων οὐδέτερον στρατηγία καὶ πολέμω 40 προσήκει. τίς μεν γάρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐμφύλια κακὰ παρασκευάσας ἔπειτ' ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον τῶν κινδύνων μετέσχεν, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐν⁷ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταμείνας ⁸ ὑπὸ δειλίας, ωστ' ολίγου τον Καίσαρα μονωθέντα δι' αὐτον πταίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μέτὰ ταῦτα πολέμους, τον προς Αίγυπτίους, τον προς Φαρνάκην, τον έν 2 'Αφρική, τὸν ἐν Ίβηρία ἐκστάς; τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τόν τε Κλώδιον προσποιησάμενος καὶ τῆ δημαρχία

¹ στρατόπεδα Rk.. στεατόπεδ' αν LM.

 ² ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM.
 ³ νῦν supplied by Bs.
 ⁴ ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM.
 ⁵ ἡμῶν Bk., ὑμῶν LM.
 ⁵ ἡμῶν Bk., ὑμῶν LM.

⁶ γàρ Bs., γε LM. 7 ἐν added by Xyl.

⁸ καταμείνας R. Steph., κατὰ μόνας LM.

and the legions, -have planned unwisely and ought a.c. 45 to suffer punishment, because without our sanction or that of the people they have dared to offer armed resistance to their consul, some having deserted his standard, and others having been gathered against him; or else we must say that Antony has in our judgment long since admitted and still admits by his deeds themselves that he is our enemy and ought to be punished by common consent of us all. Now no one can fail to be aware that the latter course is not only more just but more expedient for us. For the man neither understands how to handle business himself-how or by what means could one who lives in drunkenness and dicing?—nor has he any companion who is of any account; for he loves only such as are like himself and makes them the confidants of all his open and secret undertakings. Moreover he is most cowardly in the gravest dangers and most treacherous even to his intimate friends: and neither of these qualities is suited for generalship and war. Who does not know that after causing all our domestic troubles himself he then shared the dangers as little as possible, tarrying long in Brundisium through cowardice, so that Caesar was isolated and almost failed on his account, and holding aloof from all the wars that followed against the Egyptians, against Pharnaces, Africa, and Spain? Who does not know that he won the favour of Clodius, and after using

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αὐτοῦ πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀποχρησάμενος κὰν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρία, εἴγε ἐγὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν 3 αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐδεδέγμην καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦτο μὲν ταμιεύων στρατηγοῦντι ἐν Ἰβηρία συνεξετασθείς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῆ δημαρχία παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν γνώμην προσθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀμύθητα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους λαβών, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸν ἔς τε μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω καὶ ἐς διαβολὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὑφ' ὧνπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπέθανεν:

" Καίτοι εἶπέ ποτε ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασα οὕτω γὰρ ἀνόητός ἐστιν ώστε μου καταψεύδεσθαι τολμάν τηλικούτους έπαίνους. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτόχειρα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ λέγω γεγονέναι τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο κατέδεισε· τοῖς μέντοι πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς φημι ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπο-2 λωλέναι. ὁ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαίως έπιβεβουλεύσθαι δοκείν παρασχών οδτός έστιν ό Βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας, δ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ δούς, ὁ καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτὸν πρότερον διαβαλών. ἡ ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρω τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος ο μηδεν έξω της ελευθερίας απ'1 3 αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύσας, 'Αντώνιος δὲ ἄχθεται ὁ πᾶσαν μεν την εκείνου ουσίαν διαρπάσας, πάμπολλα δε έπι τή των γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ προφάσει κακουργήσας, καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας αύτου ἐπειγόμενος;

42 "'Αλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι οὕτ' αὐτὸς ἀξιοστρατήγητόν τι ἢ ἀξιόνικον ἔχει οὕτε στρατεύ-

1 àπ' St., ἐπ' LM.

the other's tribuneship for all the most outrageous BC. 43 ends, would have killed him with his own hand, if I had accepted this offer of his? And again, as regards his relations to Caesar, that after being first associated with him as quaestor, when Caesar was praetor in Spain, then attaching himself to him during the tribuneship, contrary to the liking of us all, and later receiving from him countless sums and excessive honours, he tried to inspire him with a desire for sole rulership and in consequence to expose him to calumny, which two things more than anything else were responsible for Caesar's death?

"Yet he once declared that it was I who instigated the assassins against Caesar; so senseless is he as to venture to invent such high praise for me. Now I, for my part, do not say that he was the actual slayer of Caesar,—not because he was not willing, but because here, too, he was timid,-yet I do say that by the very nature of his conduct Caesar perished at his hands. For the one who provided the motive, so that there seemed to be some justice in plotting against Caesar, is this fellow who called him king, who gave him the diadem, who previously slandered him even to his friends. Do I then, rejoice at the death of Caesar, I, who never enjoyed anything but liberty at his hands, and is Antony grieved, who has seized upon all his property and has done much mischief on the pretext of his papers, and who, finally, is eagerly striving to succeed to his sovereignty?

"But I return to my point that he has none of the qualities of a great general or such as to win victories and does not possess many or

ματα πολλά η άξιόμαχα κέκτηται. οί μὲν γὰρ πλείστοι οί τε άριστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκαταλελοίπασιν αὐτόν, καὶ νη Δία καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων έστέρηται οί δὲ δὴ λοιποὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων μᾶλλον ἡ πολεμεῖν μεμε-2 λετήκασι. τεκμήριου δὲ τοῦ μὲν τρόπου τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ νθν ἔτ' αὐτῶ συστρατεύονται, της δε ανανδρίας, ότι την Μούτιναν τοσοῦτον ήδη χρόνον πολιορκοῦντες οὐχ ήρήκασι. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀντωνίου τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ 3 τοιαθτα όντα ευρίσκεται τὰ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τοθ τε Βοούτου καὶ τῶν συνεξεταζομένων σφίσι δύσμαχα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἐαυτά ἐστιν (ἀμέλει Καΐσαρ μεν καί των στρατιωτών αύτου συχνούς εσφετέρισται, Βρούτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας αὐτὸν ἐξείργει), 4 αν δε δη και ύμεις επικουρήσητε αὐτοις, πρώτον μεν επαινέσαντές σφας εφ' οίς ίδιογνωμονήσαντες έποίησαν, έπειτα δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν βεβαιώσαντες, πρός τε τὸ μέλλον έξουσίαν ἔννομον αὐτοῖς δόντες, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπάτους άμφοτέρους έπλ τον πόλεμον έκπέμψαντες, οὐκ έστιν όπως βοηθήσουσί 1 τινες αυτώ των νύν 5 συνόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αν τα μάλιστα συμμείνωσιν, ἀντισχείν γε πρὸς πάντας ἄμα τοὺς ἄλλους δυνήσεται,² ἀλλ' ἤτοι ἐκών, ἐπειδὰν πρώτον πύθηται ταθθ' ύμας ε εψηφισμένους, τά τε όπλα καταθήσεται καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἑαυτὸν ποιήσεται, η καὶ ἄκων ἐκ μιᾶς μάχης ἁλώσεται. "Ἐγὼ μὲν δη ταῦθ' ὑμῖν παραινῶ, καὶ εἴγε

¹ βοηθήσουσί Dind., βοηθήσωσί LM. ² δυνήσεται Oddey, δυνήσονται LM.

³ ὑμᾶs R. Steph., ἡμᾶs LM.

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formidable legions. For the majority of the soldiers B.C. 48 and the best ones have deserted him, yes, and what is more, he has been deprived of his elephants; as for the rest of his troops, they have practised outraging and pillaging the allies more than waging war. Proof of the sort of spirit that animates them is seen in the fact that they still adhere to him, and proof of their lack of bravery in their failure to take Mutina, though they have now been besieging it for so long a time. Such is the condition of Antony and of his followers found to be. But Caesar and Brutus and those arrayed with them are formidable opponents quite by themselves,-Caesar, at any rate, has won over many of his rival's soldiers, and Brutus is keeping him out of Gaul,-and if you also come to their assistance, first by approving what they have done on their own initiative, next by ratifying their asts, at the same time giving them legal authority for the future, and then by sending out both the consuls to take charge of the war, it is certain that none of his present associates will continue to aid However, even if they cling to him most tenaciously, he will not be able to resist all the others at once, but will either lay down his arms voluntarily, as soon as he ascertains that you have passed this vote, and place himself in your hands, or will be captured against his will as the result of a single battle.

"This is my advice to you, and, if it had been

my lot to be consul, I should certainly have carried B.G. 43 it out, as I did in former days when I defended you against Catiline and Lentulus (a relative of this very man), who had conspired against you. Perhaps, however, some of you, while regarding these suggestions as well made, think we ought first to send envoys to him, and then, after learning his decision, in case he voluntarily gives up his arms and submits himself to you, to take no action, but if he persists in the same course of action, to declare war upon him; for this is the advice which I hear some persons wish to give you. Now this plan is very attractive in theory, but in point of fact it is disgraceful and dangerous to the city. For is it not disgraceful that you should employ heralds and embassies to your fellow-citizens? With foreign nations it is proper and necessary to treat first through heralds and envoys, but upon citizens who are guilty of some Parong-doing you should inflict punishment straightway, by trying them in court if you can get them within reach of your votes, and by warring against them if within reach of your arms. For all such are your servants and servants of the people and of the laws, whether they wish it or not; and it is not fitting either to coddle them or to put them on an equal footing with the freest of the citizens, but to pursue and chastise them like runaway servants, in the consciousness of your own superiority. Is it not shameful that while he does not hesitate to wrong us, we hesitate to defend ourselves? Or,

έκεινου μεν έκ πολλού τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττειν, ήμᾶς δὲ ἐν ψηφίσμασι καὶ πρεσβείαις τούς χρόνους κατατρίβειν, καὶ δυ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀδικοῦντα πάλαι πεφωράκαμεν, τοῦτον συλλαβαῖς καὶ 2 βήμασι μόνοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι; τί προσδοκῶντας: η ότι υπακούσει ποτε ημίν και αιδεσθήσεται ποτε ήμας; καὶ πῶς, ὅς γε ἐς τοῦτ' ἤδη προκεχώρηκεν ώστε μηδ' αν βούληται δύνασθαι δημοκρατικώς ήμεν συμπολιτεθσαι; εί μέν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ κοινώς ζην ηβούλετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπ' ἀρχης τοιούτοις πράγμασιν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἴ τε καὶ ὑπ' ἀνοίας η καί προπετείας τοῦτ' ἐποίησε, πάντως ἂν ἑκὼν 3 εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγη· νῦν δ' ἄπαξ καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων καλ έκ της πολιτείας έκβάς, καί τινα καλ δύναμιν έκ τούτου καὶ έξουσίαν προσλαβών, οὐκ έστιν όπως αν έθελούσιος μεταβάλοιτο 1 καί των δογμάτων τι των υμετέρων προτιμήσειε:, άλλ' ἀνάγκη τὸν τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅπλοις, οΐσπερ ήμας άδικεῖν ἐτόλμησε, καὶ κολασθήναι. 45 καί μοι νθν μάλιστα τὸ λεχθέν ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοθ έκείνου μνημονεύσατε, ότι ούχ οδόν τέ έστιν ύμιν, αν μη κρατήσητε, σωθηναι. οὐδεν οὖν άλλο ποιοθσιν οί κελεύοντες ύμας πρεσβεύσασθαι ή όπως ύμεις μεν βραδύνητε, κάκ τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμαχούντων υμίν άργότερα και άθυμότερα 2 γένηται, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν τούτφ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάνθ' όσα αν βούληται πράξη, και τόν τε Δέκιμον

¹ μεταβάλοιτο R. Steph , μεταβάλλοιτο LM.

again, that while he for a long time, weapons in BC. 48 hand, has been carrying out all the deeds of war, we are wasting our time in decrees and embassies, and that we retaliate only with words and phrases upon the man whom we have long since discovered by his deeds to be a wrong-doer? What are we hoping for? That he will some day render us obedience and pay us respect? Yet how would this be possible in the case of a man who has come to such a point that he would not be able, even should he wish it, to live as an ordinary citizen with us under a democratic government? Indeed, if he were willing to live on a basis of common equality, he would never have entered in the first place upon such a career as his; and even if he had done so under the influence of folly or recklessness, he would certainly have given it up speedily of his own accord. But as the case stands, since he has once overstepped the limits imposed by the laws and the constitution, and has acquired me power and authority by this action, it is not conceivable that he would change of his own free will or heed any one of your resolutions, but it is absolutely necessary that such a man should be punished with those very weapons with which he has dared to wrong us. And I beg you now to remember particularly the remark which this man himself once uttered, to the effect that it is impossible for you to be saved unless you conquer. Hence those who bid you send envoys are doing nothing else than causing you to delay and causing your allies to become in consequence more remiss and dispirited; while he, on the other hand, will meanwhile do whatever he pleases, will destroy

εξέλη καὶ τὴν Μούτιναν ἐκπολιορκήση τήν τε Γαλατίαν πάσαν λάβη, ὥστε μηκέθ ἡμᾶς ὅπως αὐτῷ χρησώμεθα εὐρεῖν δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὑποδεδιέναι τε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσκυνεῖν
3 ἀνάγκην εξχειν. ἐν δὲ ἔτι τοῦτο περὶ τῆς
πρεσβείας εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος
λόγον τινὰ ὑμῖς τοῦτο περὶ τος
καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦτο ποὶ σητε.

"Έγὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τάλλα πάντα συμβουλεύω υμίν μη μέλλειν μηδὲ διατοίβειν, άλλ' ὅτι τάχιστα αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι, λογισαμένους ότι τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς 5 καιροίς ή ταίς δυνάμεσι κατορθούται, και πάντως που καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνιέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποτε τὴν είρήνην, εν ή και πλείστον ισχύω και πλούτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτησάμην, ἀφείς, είγε καὶ τῷ ἔργω εἰρήνη ἡν, 4 πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μή γε καὶ συμφέρειν 46 ἡγούμην, παρήνεσα. 5 καὶ σοὶ 6 δέ, 6 Καλήνε, τοις τε άλλοις τοις ταυτά σοι φρονούσι συμβουλεύω καθ' ήσυχίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῆ τη γερουσία ία προσήκουτα ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τῆς ίδίας υμών πρὸς Αντώνιον χάριτος ένεκα τὰ κοινή πᾶσιν ήμιν 2 συμφέροντα καταπροδούναι. ώς έγωγε ούτω γνώμης, ὢ πατέρες, ἔχω ὥστ', ἂν μὲν πεισθητέ μοι. καὶ πάνυ 8 ἂν ήδέως καὶ της έλευθερίας καὶ της σωτηρίας μεθ' ύμων ἀπολαῦσαι, αν δ' άλλο τι Ψηφίσησθε, τεθυάναι μᾶλλον η ζην ελέσθαι. 3 ούτε γαρ άλλως του θάνατου ποτε του έκ της

¹ ἀνάγκην R Steph., ἀναγκῆι LM.
² ἔτι M, ὅτι L.

³ κατορθοῦται Reim., κατορθοῦνται LM. 4 εἰρήνη ῆν Βk., εἰρήνην LM

⁵ παρήνεσα Dind., παραινέσαι LM 6 σοl R. Steph ,σὸ LM.

Decimus, will take Mutina by storm, and will capture all Gaul, with the result that we shall no longer be able to find means of dealing with him, but shall be under the necessity of trembling before him, paying court to him, and worshipping him. Just this one point further about the embassy and I am done: Antony did not on his part give you any account of what he intended to do, that you should do so yourselves.

"I, therefore, for these and all the other reasons advise you not to delay or to lose time, but to make war upon him as quickly as possible, reflecting that the majority of enterprises owe their success rather to opportune occasions than to their strength; and you should by all means feel perfectly sure for this very reason that I would never have given up peace, in the midst of which I have most influence and have acquired wealth and reputation, if it wally were peace, nor would have urged you to make war, did I not think it to your advantage. And I advise you, Calenus, and the rest who are of the same mind as you, to be quiet and allow the senate to vote the requisite measures, and not for the sake of your private good-will toward Antony to betray the common interests of us all. For this is my feeling, Conscript Fathers, that if you heed my counsel, I shall very gladly enjoy freedom and safety with you, but that if you vote anything different. I shall choose to die rather than to live. For I have never at any time been afraid of death

παρρησίας ἐφοβήθην (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατώρθωσα πλείστου τεκμήριου δέ ὅτι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ έορτάσαι εφ' οίς ύπατεύων εποίησα εψηφίσασθε, όπερ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλφ μη οὐκ ἐν πολέμφ γέ τι καταπράξαντι έγένετο), νῦν δὲ καὶ ἤκιστα. 4 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν 1 θάνατος οὖκ ἂν ἄωρος ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτῶν ὑπατευκότι μοι γένοιτο (καίτοι μνημονεύετε ότι τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ ύπατεία ύμιν είπον, ίνα μοι πρὸς πάντα ώς καταφρονοῦντι αὐτοῦ προσέχητε)· τὸ δὲ δὴ φοβηθῆναί τινα καθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δουλεῦσαί τινι μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ ἄν μοι ἀωρότατον ² συμβαίη. 5 όθενπερ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ συμφορὰν καὶ ὅλεθρον, οὐ τοῦ σώματος μόνον άλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς τε δόξης, ὑφ' ής που καὶ μόνης ἀίδιοι τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμεθα, είναι νομίζω το δε δη λέγοντά τε καί πράττοντα ύπερ ύμων αποθανείν ισοστάσιον άθανασία 3 άγω.

7 "Καὶ εἴγε καὶ 'Αντώνιος ταῦτ' ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐς τοιαῦτα πράγματα προυχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄν, ὅσπερ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ἤ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ Κίννα τῷ ἐκεῖνον 2 ἀποκτείναντι ποιῆσαι προείλετο. πρὸς γὰρ αὖτοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν Κίννας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀντεσφάγη διά τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τἄλλα ὰ κακῶς ἔπραττε (διόπερ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ 'Αντωνίου τεθαύμακα, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος οὐ φοβεῖται μήποτε ὁμοία καταστροφῆ περιπέση), ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ αὐτῶ τούτω τὸ δοκεῖν τινι εἶναι

¹ καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Βκ., καὶ ὁ μὲν γὰρ LM
2 ἀωρότατου Dind., δωρότατου LM

³ άθανασία Rk., άθανασίαν LM.

as a consequence of my outspokenness (this accounts, BC 49 indeed, for my overwhelming success, the proof of which lies in the fact that you decreed a sacrifice and festival in memory of the deeds done in my consulship, an honour which had never before been granted to anybody except one who had achieved some great success in war) and now I fear it least of all. For death, if it befell me, would not be at all unseasonable, especially when you consider that my consulship was so many years ago (yet remember that in that very consulship I expressed the same sentiment, in order that you might pay heed to me in everything, knowing that I despised death), but to dread any one for what he may do against you, and to be a slave to any one in common with you would prove most unseasonable to me. Therefore I deem this last to be the ruin and destruction not only of the body but also of the soul and reputation, by which, and by which alone, we become in a certain sense immortal; but to die speaking and acting in your behalf I regard as equivalent to immortality.

"Now if Antony, also, realized this, he would never have entered upon such a career, but would have even preferred to die as his grandfather died rather than to behave like Cinna, who killed him. For, to mention nothing else, Cinna was in turn slain not long afterward for this and the other crimes he had committed; so that I am surprised also at this feature in Antony's conduct, that, imitating his deeds as he does, he shows no fear of some day falling a victim to a similar fate. The murdered man, on the other hand, left behind to this very descendant

- 3 κατέλιπεν. ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ σώζεσθαι διὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἔτι δίκαιός ἐστι, μήτε τὸν παππον ζηλώσας μήτε τὸν πατέρα τῆς οὐσίας κληρονομήσας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἰδε τοῦθ',¹ ὅτι πολλοὺς φεύγρντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου καταγαγὼν² οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε τῷ θείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευ-
- 4 οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε τῷ θείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευτὴν τὸν Λεντίκουλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ βίου
 ρᾳδιουργίᾳ φυγόντα ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιβόητον
 ἀγαπᾳ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ συγγενεστάτοις οὕτως ὥσπερ
 εἶπον ¾ κέχρηται, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς.
- 5 ἔχων ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἐγεννήθη. τοιγαροῦν τῶν μὲν ἐκείνου ⁴ χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἄλλων δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν μήτ' ἰδῶν μήτ' ἀκούσας πώποτε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντας οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέδυκε καὶ σεσύληκεν ὥστε μηδέν σφας νεκρῶν διαφέρειν."

¹ τοῦθ' Βk., ταῦθ' LM. 2 καταγαγών Rk., ἀγαγών LM.

 ³ ωσπερ εἶπον Bk., ως προεῖπον LM.
 ⁴ ἐκείνου V, ἐκείνων LM.

BOOK XLV

the reputation of greatness. But Antony has no B.G. 48 longel any claim to be saved on account of his relatives, since he has neither emulated his grandfather nor inherited his father's property. Who, indeed, is unaware of the fact that in restoring many who were exiled in Caesar's time and later, in accordance, forsooth, with the directions of Caesar's papers, he did not aid his uncle, but brought back his fellow-gambler Lenticulus, who had been exiled for his unprincipled life, and cherishes Bambalio, who is notorious for his very cognomen, while he has treated his nearest relatives as I have described, as if he were half angry at them because he was born to so noble a name? Consequently he never inherited his father's goods, but has been the heir of very many others, some of whom he never saw or heard of, and others who are still living; for he has so stripped and despoiled them that they differ in no way from dead men."

¹ M. Fulvius Bambalio, Antony's father-in-law. The name Bambalio signifies "stutterer."

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